

UNIVERSITY OF ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE



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English Readings



LYLY'S

ENDYMION



ENDYMION  
THE MAN IN THE MOON

*Played before the Queen's Majesty at Greenwich on  
Candlemas Day, at Night, by the Children  
of Paul's*

BY  
JOHN LYLY, M.A.

EDITED WITH  
*NOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND A BIOGRAPHICAL  
INTRODUCTION*

BY  
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## PREFACE.

THIS edition of Lyly's *Endymion* has been prepared because, something more than a year ago, the editor felt the need of an inexpensive edition of some representative play of the court dramatist which could be used by classes in the Elizabethan drama. The text was soon ready, but when the time came to write the introduction the editor found much contradiction in regard to John Lyly's life ; much material bearing on it that had been, apparently, but rapidly read for its evidence in regard to him ; and many years of his life left blank. It seemed, therefore, worth while to try to write an account of Lyly's career which should make use of all the known material in regard to him, and should, at the same time, clear away, if possible, the confusion that contradictory statements of previous biographers had caused.

The editor hopes that the introduction throws some new light on the reasons for the delay in the publication of *Euphues and his England*, and on its connection with the early plays of Lyly ; on the order of the comedies ; on the distinguishing of what is Lyly's work from what is not ; on the part played by Lyly in the Harvey-

Nash controversy, and on the dates for the undated begging letters of Lyly to the Queen. He hopes, also, that it will lead to a wider acceptance of the idea originally advanced by the Rev. Mr. Halpin, that *Endymion* is an allegory treating an episode in the relations of Leicester and Elizabeth, and to a better understanding of the history of the children's companies between 1580 and 1600. In the introduction the aim has been to advance no theories to which evidence does not point the way; to distinguish carefully what is possible from what is probable, and both from what is evidently indisputable. The editor will be very grateful to any one who will call his attention to errors or oversights.

He wishes to thank Professor G. L. Kittredge of Harvard University, for reading the proof of the text and for many helpful suggestions. He is also indebted to Professors Goodwin, Ashley, and Gross of Harvard, Professor Carpenter of Columbia, Mr. Sidney Lee, the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., Librarian of St. Paul's Cathedral, Mrs. M. G. Gibbs of Aylesbury, England, and Messrs. T. Hall and F. G. Taussig for aid in details of the text or introduction.

GEO. P. BAKER.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,

Aug. 20, 1894.



## JOHN LYLY.

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To the careful student of the Elizabethan drama the life and the writings of John Lyly<sup>1</sup> offer a succession of problems. For instance, the testimony as to the date of his birth is at first sight contradictory. In that portion of *Euphues and his England* in which Lyly writes in a way plainly autobiographic, *Euphues Glasse for Europe*, he says, speaking of the predecessors of Elizabeth on the throne of England: "The elder sister the Princes *Marie*, succeeded as next heire to the crowne, and as it chaunced nexte heire to the grave, touching

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<sup>1</sup> John Lyly's name has been spelled in many ways, especially in his own day, when the spelling of surnames was very variable. We find in the mentions of Lyly from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century the following forms of his name: Lilly, Lylli, Lillie, Lilie, Lylie, Lily, Lillye, Lyly and Lyly. At the end of the only autograph letter in English of Lyly's now extant, and also in the postscript, (Lansdowne MSS. xxxvi. 17; given on pp. cvi, cvii) the dramatist signs himself *Jhon. Lyly*. This spelling seems, therefore, as Lyly's own, preferable to the others.

whose life, I can say little because I was scarce borne.”<sup>1</sup> This gives us only the information that Lyly was born after July 6, 1553, when Mary came to the throne, and before Nov. 17, 1558, when she died. Anthony à Wood, however, tells us that in 1569 “John Lylie or Lylly, a Kentish man born, became a student in Magdalen College, Oxford, aged 16 or thereabouts.”<sup>2</sup> This places his birth in 1553 or 1554. Cooper says: “John Lilly, born in the Weald of Kent in 1553 or 1554, became a student of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1569, but was not matriculated till 8 Oct., 1571, when he was entered as *plebii filius*.”<sup>3</sup> Foster in his *Alumni Oxonienses* says that when Lyly matriculated in 1571 he was seventeen years old.<sup>4</sup> That Lyly became a student at Magdalen College in 1569, but did not matriculate till 1571, is explained by the statement of Dr. Bloxam, an authority, that 1571 “was the first year of matriculation and all the members of the college, old and young, matriculated together,—the matriculation would not fix the date of entrance.”<sup>5</sup> Certainly this evidence as to the date of Lyly’s birth is confusing: à Wood and Cooper say 1553 or 1554, the *Alumni Oxonienses* 1554; in 1569 he was

<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. Arber. p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> Athenæ Oxonienses, I. 676. Ed. 1813.

<sup>3</sup> Athenæ Cantab., II. 525. Ed. 1861.

<sup>4</sup> Alumni Oxonienses, II. Lyly.

<sup>5</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. Arber. Chronicle, ¶ 5.

“sixteen or thereabouts”; in 1571, two years later, seventeen.

As Steinhäuser,<sup>1</sup> however, has shown, these apparent contradictions may be reconciled. Oct. 8, 1571, was the date of the first matriculation. If Lyly was born after Oct. 8, 1553, he could say in the early fall of 1569 that he was sixteen, for he was much nearer that than fifteen—roughly speaking, he was “sixteen or thereabouts.” When, in the fall of 1571, the whole college carefully matriculated, he was, probably, asked to give his age at his last birthday (the usual method at matriculations), and the answer to that question must have been seventeen, although shortly after he would have been eighteen. This reconciling of the different statements places the date for Lyly’s birth between Oct. 8, 1553, and January, 1554, and makes him about five years old when Queen Mary died.

Where in the “Weald of Kent” Lyly was born is not known. Reference to the indices of Hasted’s *History of Kent* will convince a student that Lyly was an honorable Kentish name, but did not necessarily mean wealth. Apparently those of the name were staunch supporters of Magdalen College, for à Wood says: “Which house [Magdalen College] was seldom

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<sup>1</sup> John Lyly als Dramatiker. K. Steinhäuser. pp. 1, 2, note.

or never without a Lilye (understand me, not that it bears three lilyes for its arms) from the first foundation thereof to the latter end of queen Elizabeth."<sup>1</sup> It has been customary to assume that Lyly was poor by birth and throughout his life, but the evidence for this is not very conclusive. The impression rests on some words of Anthony à Wood ; on Lyly's Latin letter to Lord Burleigh in 1574,<sup>2</sup> asking for an appointment to a fellowship in Magdalen College ; on his holding, apparently, after he was settled in London, some position in the household of Lord Burleigh<sup>3</sup>; and on his frankly stated need, in his second begging letter to the Queen,<sup>4</sup> after the choir-boys of St. Paul's had been forbidden to act. A Wood "conceives" that Lyly was "either one of the demies<sup>5</sup> or clerks of that house<sup>6</sup>" [Magdalen], but Dr. Bloxam, who made the history of Magdalen College his special study, weakens this testimony by saying that "Lyly might have been a poor scholar, but there is no reason to suppose that he was either a demy or a clerk."<sup>7</sup> In other words, there is no evidence in the college records that

<sup>1</sup> Athenæ Oxon., I. 302.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xiv-xvi. <sup>3</sup> See p. cvi, cvii. <sup>4</sup> See p. clx.

<sup>5</sup> "Demi was the name given to the scholars who received half the allowance given to Fellows."—The Colleges at Oxford. A. Clark, p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> Ath. Oxon., I. 676.

<sup>7</sup> English Reprints : Lyly. Chronicle, ¶ 5.

Lyly was poor. That he registered as *plebii filius* meant nothing, of course, as to his means. Nor is there anything in the Latin letter that distinctly offers poverty as a reason for the appointment to the fellowship.<sup>1</sup> A position under Lord Burleigh by no means necessarily implies poverty in the person who took it<sup>2</sup>—indeed our knowledge of the nature of the position referred to in the letter is too slight for it to be used safely as evidence either for or against Lyly's poverty. Even, too, if Lyly did suffer when there was no longer any company of boys to perform his plays, that does not mean that he may not have had a fair start in life and comfortable conditions until the inhibition by the Queen closed the boys' theatre against him. The evidence for Lyly's poverty is, then, but weak at best.

<sup>1</sup> Lyly thanks Burleigh for care of him, "not asking, nor expecting it." (p. xvii, note.) When he says, "If I be not aided and upheld by such an order, I fail utterly, for no remedy can be thought of to console me, and there is no help for me," the words of course refer, not to his poverty, but rather to his lack of influence with the Fellows of Magdalen College and his own insufficient scholarship.

<sup>2</sup> "His Lordship was served with men of quality and stability, for most of the principall Gentlemen in England sought to preferre their sonnes and heirs to his service. . . . Insomuch as I have nombred in his house attending on the table, 20 Gentlemen of his retayners, of 1000*l* per Ann. a peice in possession and reversion; and of his ordinary men as manle; some worth 1000. some 3, 5, 10, yea 20,000*l* daily attending his Lordship's service."—*Life of Wm. Cecil*. A. Collins, 1732. p. 40.

On the other hand, there is evidence that favors a different view. As we shall see in a moment, Lyly seems to have been rusticated from Oxford for three years almost immediately on entering Magdalen.<sup>1</sup> That he could still go on with his university course after this long rustication argues strongly that he was not very poor, and causes a reader to wonder whether what Lyly makes old Fidus say in the *Euphues and his England* may not be really autobiographic: "I was borne in the wylde of Kent, of honest Parents, and worshipfull, whose tender cares, (if the fondnesse of parents may be so termed) provided all things even from my very cradell, until their graves, that might either bring me up in good letters, or make me heire to great lyvings. I (with-out arrogancie be it spoken) was not inferiour in wit to manye, which finding in my selfe, I flattered my selfe, but in ye ende deceived my selfe: For being of the age of xx. yeares, there was no trade or kinde of lyfe that either fitted my humour or served my tourne, but the Court: thinking that place the onely meanes to clymbe high, and sit sure: Wherein I followed the vaine of young Souldiours, who iudge nothing sweeter then warre til they feele the weight, I was there entertained as well by the great friends my father made, as by mine own forwardnesse, where it being now but Honnie Moone,

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. xi, xii,

I endeavoured to courte it with a grace, (almost past grace,) laying more on my backe then my friendes could wel beare, having many times a brave cloke and a thredbare purse.”<sup>1</sup>

Now there is much that is autobiographic in the two parts of Lyly's *Euphues*. Of the first part Lyly said in his dedication of the second part to Lord Oxenford: “The first picture that Phydius the first Paynter shadowed, was the portraiture of his owne person, saying thus: if it be well, I will paint many besides Phydius, if ill, it shall offend none but Phydius.

“In the like manner fareth it with me (Right Honourable) who never before handling the pensill, did for my fyrst counterfaite, coulour mine owne Euphues, being of this minde, that if it wer lyked, I would draw more besides Euphues, if loathed, grieve none but Euphues.”<sup>2</sup>

It is generally admitted, too, that in the *Glasse for Europe* of the second part of the *Euphues*, Lyly writes autobiographically. It is certainly noteworthy, therefore, that Lyly, like Fidus, was born in the weald of Kent; that both regarded the court as the only place for the ambitious man; that Fidus was twenty when he first turned to the Court, and that Lyly, when at twenty, in 1574, he wrote his Latin letter to Lord Burleigh, was evidently on the road that brought him to a

<sup>1</sup> English Reprints; Lyly. p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 213.

position in the household of Lord Burleigh and his success at court; that, if we may believe what the dramatist says of himself in the *Glasse for Europe*, it was "forwardnesse," wit, which helped both men at court: "It was my fortune to be acquainted with certaine English Gentlemen, which brought mee to the court. . . . At the last comming oftner thether, then it beseemed one of my degree, yet not so often as they desired my company, I began to pry after theyr manners, natures, and lyves."<sup>1</sup> Here is practically the description by Fidus of an introduction to the court; only, since the speaker, Euphues, is supposed to be a foreigner, the gentlemen, who in the earlier account were the friends of the father of Fidus, and not the father, introduce the youth. When the two accounts coincide so nearly in all other respects, is it not a temptation to believe that in the father of Fidus we have a glimpse of the father of Lyly? If we have, Lyly would have been by birth what the Lylys in Hasted's *History of Kent* seem to have been, what their staunch support of Magdalen would make them,—not very poor, but people of the middle class.<sup>2</sup> Lyly's father might well have been a man in some comfortable position in life which made it possible for him to give his son a good start in the world, but not to leave him much at his

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Hasted's Hist. of Kent, Vols. ix, p. 76; x, 82; xii, 55, 56.



death. Certainly, whether we accept this conclusion or not, it will be seen that the evidence—the rustication from Oxford and the words of *Fidus*—against early poverty for Lyly is about as strong as that in favor of it.

Of Lyly's life from his birth to 1569 we know nothing. What he was doing in 1569, 1570, and 1571 to Oct. 8, it would be impossible to say, were it not for a part of his *Address to the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford*, printed in 1579, in the second edition of the first part of the *Euphues* and before the appearance of the *England*. Here, repelling the charge that had been made against him of defaming Oxford in some parts of the *Ephoebus* of the *Anatomie of Wit*, he says: "Yet may I of all the rest most condempne *Oxford* of unkindnesse, of vice I cannot, who seemnd to weane mee before she brought mee forth, and to give mee boanes to gnaw, before I could get the teate to sucke. Wherein she played the nice mother in sending me into the Countrie to nurse, where I tyred at a drie breast three yeares, and was at last inforced to weane my selfe. But it was destinie, for if I had not ben gathered from the tree in the bud, I should being blowen have proved a blast, and as good it is to be an addle egge, as an idle bird."<sup>1</sup> That Lyly cannot condemn Oxford for vice, and his confession in the last sentence of the

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. p. 207.

quotation, suggest that almost at once after coming to Oxford he was rusticated for some misconduct serious enough to require a severe penalty.<sup>1</sup> Whether the length of the rustication, three years, was wholly due to the conduct of Lyly is doubtful, for we must remember that "in the early months of 1571 a terrible plague raged in that city [Oxford]. The townsmen died in great numbers, and the schools were closed, the students being sent to read with their tutors in country houses or allowed to return to their own homes."<sup>2</sup> At such a time, of course, a rusticated collegian would not be recalled.

Of Lyly at Oxford we know scarcely anything. A Wood writes—evidently copying, as Professor Arber points out,<sup>3</sup> the enthusiastically

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<sup>1</sup> Fairholt's statement (p. xi., *Dramatic Works of John Lilly*) that Lyly was rusticated for "glancing at some abuses" is the result of a careless reading of the "Address to the Gentlemen Scholars." Lyly uses the phrase which Fairholt quotes, but as follows: "It was reported of some, and believed of many, that in the Education of *Ephoebus*, where mention is made of Universities, that *Oxford* was too much either defaced or defamed. . . . They that invented this toie were unwise, and they that reported it unkinde, and yet none of them can prove me dishonest. . . . But suppose I glanced at some abuses [i.e. in the *Ephoebus*] . . . there is no tree but hath some blast, and shall *Oxford* then be blamelesse?" (pp. 207, 208. Arber.)

<sup>2</sup> Philip Sidney. (Heroes of Nations.) H. R. Fox Bourne. p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. Chronology, ¶ 6.

inaccurate Blount,<sup>1</sup> who brought out the first edition of Lyly's collected plays—that Lyly “was always averse to the crabbed studies of logic and philosophy. For so it was that his genie being naturally bent to the pleasant paths of poetry (as if Apollo had given to him a wreath of his own bay's, without snatching or struggling), did in a manner neglect academical studies, yet not so much but that he took the degrees in arts, that of master being compleated 1575. At which time, as he was esteemed at the university a noted wit so afterwards was in the court of Q. Elizabeth, where he was also reputed a rare poet, witty, comical, and facetious.”<sup>2</sup> That Lyly may have been “averse to the crabbed studies of logic and philosophy,” scenes in *Alexander and Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao*, and passages in *Pappe with an Hatchet*,<sup>3</sup> all satirizing methods of formal logic, certainly suggest. His early escapade, too, hardly foreshadows the close student. Gabriel Harvey, writing fiercely against Lyly in his *Pierce's Supererogation*, speaks of him as “once the foile of Oxford, now the stale of London,”<sup>4</sup> “sometime the fiddle-stick of Oxford, now the very bable of

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<sup>1</sup> For Blount's words see the preface to the 1632 edition and Fairholt's Lilly, vol. I. pp. xxx-xxxii.

<sup>2</sup> Ath. Oxon. I. 276.

<sup>3</sup> A. and C., Act I. Sc. 2. S. and P., Act II. Sc. 2; Act III. Sc. 2. P. H. p. 52, Saintsbury's ed

<sup>4</sup> Harvey's Works, Grosart. Vol. II, p. 132.

London,"<sup>1</sup> and says: "They were much deceived in him, at Oxford, and in the Savoy, when master Absalon lived; that tooke him onely for a dapper and deft companion, or a pert, conceited youth, that had gathered together a few prettie sentences, and could handsomely helpe younge Euphues to an old simile: and never thought him any such mighty doer at the sharpe."<sup>2</sup> Allowing for the anger of Harvey which exaggerates his statements, we see that these words show that before Lyly left Oxford he was prominent there, and noted, at least, for his cleverness.

April 27, 1573, Lyly took his B.A.<sup>3</sup> On May 16, 1574, he wrote the following Latin letter<sup>4</sup> to Lord Burleigh, asking to be made a fellow of Magdalen College:—

"Viro illustrissimo et insignissimo Heroi Domino Burgleo, totius Angliae Thesaurario, Regiae Maiestatis intimis a concilijs, et patrono suo colendissimo. J. L.

"Quod in me tuum alumnum benignitas tua munifica extiterit (Clarissime Heros) et ultro ne

<sup>1</sup> Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.* Vol. II. p. 128. *Pierce's Supererogation.*

<sup>3</sup> *Fasti Oxon.* Wood. Ed. 1815.

<sup>4</sup> Lansdowne MSS. XIX. Art. 16. The letter is indorsed: "16 May, 1574. John Lilie, a scholar of Oxford. An epistle for y<sup>e</sup> Queen's letters to Magdalen Colledge to admit him fellow,"

expectanti quidem studium, operam, et singularem industriam declaraveris, agnosco pro eo ac decet supplex tuam humanitatem in literarum studiosus pietatem. Quare cum incredibilis mansuetudo tua, non solum merita, sed spem longe superarit, et quod meus pudor nunquam rogasset prolixius indulserit, habeo tuo honori gratias maximas, et vero tantas, quantas meæ facultatulæ referre nunquam poterunt. Et licet proiectæ cuiusdam audaciæ et præfrictæ frontis videri possit, iuvenum rudem et temerarium, virum amplissimum et prudentem, eum cui nec ætatis accessio iudicij maturitatem, nec casta disciplina integritatem morum, nec artium doctrina scientiæ suppellectilem est elargita, insignissimum Heroem, pro regni incolumitate, salute reip., communium fortunarum defensione excubantem, rursum iniquis precibus interpellare, et importunius obstrepere. Tamen cum optimi cuiusque bonitas commune omnium sit per fugium, subinde percogitans esse animi excelsi cui multum subvenit ei velle plurimum opitulari, ad tuam amplitudinem quam perspectam indes, suspectam nunquam, probatam sæpius habui, supplici prece accedo, passis manibus tuam operam, studium, humanitatem implorans. Haec summa est, in hoc cardo vertitur, haec Helena, ut tua celsitudo dignetur serenissimæ regiæ magistratis literas (ut minus latine dicam) mandatorias extorquere, ut ad Magdalenenses deferantur quo in eorum societatem te duce pos-

sim obrepere, fortunæ nostræ tanquam fundamento, tibi tanquam firmamento, connituntur. Nisi his sublever, et sustenter, misere corruo, nihil enim potest quod me consoletur excogitari remedij, nec aliquid esset L. nisi tuus honor tanquam numen quoddam propitium, aut sacra anchora, aut salutare sydus, et Cynosura præluxerit. Adeoque meum corpus tuo honori, et tenues fortunas tuæ voluntati, et animum ad tua mandata conficienda habes expeditissimum. Quare in quem sæpe celsitudo tua benefica, operæ parata, studium semper promptum feruit, eundem hoc tempore supplicem et ad pedes tuos abiectum pro solita tua et incredibilem humanitate sublevato, ego interim supplices manus ad deum Opt. Max. tendam ut beneficentia Alexandrum, humanitate Traianum, ætate Nestorem, invicta mentis celsitudine Camillum, Salamonem prudentia, Davidem sanctimonia, Josiam religionis collapsæ instaurandæ, et incorruptæ conservandæ cura, possis adæquare. Hoc interim promitto et spondeo meam nec in imbibendis artibus curam, nec in referenda gratia animum, nec in perferendo labore industriam, nec in propaganda tua laude studium, nec religionem in officio, nec fidem in obsequio, unquam defuturam. Vale.

“Tuæ amplitudinis observantissimus,

“JOANNES LILIUS.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following will, perhaps, serve as a translation of Lyly's letter :

Lyly did not get his fellowship. That, however, does not mean, necessarily, that Burleigh did not use some influence for Lyly, for mandatory letters from the Queen, the method of nomination to a fellowship asked for by Lyly,

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“To the very illustrious man and very distinguished hero, Lord Burleigh, Lord Treasurer of England, Privy Councillor to Her Majesty, and his own revered patron, from J. L.

“Since, most illustrious hero, you have repeatedly shown your kind generosity to me, your foster-child, and since you have exhibited a zealous interest, an unmatched and constant care for me, neither asking nor expecting it, I suppliantly acknowledge, as I should, your kindness and your fostering care for students of letters. Wherefore, since your inconceivable kindness has been far beyond my desert and my hopes, and has lavishly granted more than my modest wish ever asked for, I feel deeply grateful to your Honor for a generosity that my feeble powers will never enable me to requite. And though it may seem the height of boldness and barefaced impudence for an untaught and heedless youth, addressing a nobleman of vast power and wisdom, one whose judgment did not need for ripeness added years, whose upright character never needed training, whose learning required no instruction, a most distinguished hero, ever watchful for the entirety of the realm, the safety of the State, and the protection of the general welfare,—to disturb him with importunate entreaty, yet, since a great nobleman’s grace is our common refuge, and since I believe that a man of lofty soul would wish to aid to the utmost him whom he has already greatly aided, I now suppliantly come to your nobleness,—which I have witnessed daily, never questioned, and often experienced,—imploping your help, your interest, your mercy. This is

were always unpopular with the officials of Oxford colleges, and just about the time of Lyly's letter there was specially strong objection made to them at Magdalen.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, the opening lines of Lyly's letter show that for some time

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the sum of my entreaty ; on this all hinges ; this is the Helen :—that your Honor will deign to obtain from Her Most Gracious Majesty a mandatory letter, (pardon my Latin,) to be presented to the authorities of Magdalen, enabling me, under your protection, to join that college, for my fortune rests on you as its foundation and support. If I be not aided and upheld by such an order, I fail utterly, for no new remedy can be thought of to console me ; and there is no help for me, unless your Honor be my protecting divinity, my sacred anchor, or shine upon me as my star of safety, my Cynosure. And my strength is at your Honor's service, my slender fortunes at your disposal, my heart and soul ready to execute your orders. Wherefore, since your Honor, blessing and ready to aid, has always shown an active interest in my behalf, now with your accustomed incredible kindness raise me up, suppliant as I am and prostrate at your feet; and I will lift my hands in prayer to God Almighty that you may equal Alexander in well-doing (success), Trajan in humanity, Nestor in long life, Camillus in invincible loftiness of soul, Solomon in wisdom, David in holiness, Josiah in care for the restoring of a downfallen religion and for keeping it intact. Meantime, this I vow and promise, that my efforts to acquire knowledge, my deep gratitude for your favor my industry in performing my work, my zeal in spreading your renown, my devotion to duty, and my faithful obedience, shall never falter.

“ Your Grace's most obedient

“ JOHN LYLY.”

<sup>1</sup> The Colleges at Oxford, A. Clark, p. 245.



before 1574, Lord Burleigh had been his patron. In the *Glasse for Europe*, written not later than the summer of 1580, as we shall soon see,<sup>1</sup> Lyly, thanking Lord Burleigh by name for past kindnesses, shows that he was aided from his first appeal: "Among the number of all which noble and wise counsailors, (I can-not but for his honors sake remember) the most prudent and right honourable ye Lorde *Burgleigh*, high Treasurer of that Realme. . . . This noble man I found so ready being but a straunger, to do me good, that neyther I ought to forget him, neyther cease to pray for him, that as he hath the wisdome of *Nestor*, so he may have the age, that having the policies of *Vlysses*, he may have his honor, worthye to lyve long, by whome so manye lyve in quiet, and not unworthy to be advaunced, by whose care so many have beene preferred."<sup>2</sup> We shall see<sup>3</sup> that in 1582 he apparently held some position in the household of his patron.

June 1, 1575, Lyly took his M.A.<sup>4</sup> What he did between this date and the appearance of *Euphues*, *The Anatomie of Wit*, in the winter of 1579,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pp. xxvii-xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. pp. 441, 442.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. civ-cx. <sup>4</sup> *Fasti Oxon.* À Wood.

<sup>5</sup> "Dec. 2, 1578. Gabriel Cawood. Licensed unto him the *Anatomie of Witt*, compiled by John Lyllie, under the hande of the bishoppe of London . . . xijd." (Eng. Reprints: Lyly. *Chron.*, ¶ 13.) "My first counterfaite hatched in the hard winter with the Alcyon" (p. 215).

is not known. Mr. Fleay<sup>1</sup> has surmised that after taking his degree of M.A. at Oxford he went to London to make his way at court. That he was ambitious to be a courtier the words cited on p. x. seem to show, but that until after the publication of the first part of the *Euphues* in 1579 he was regularly at the court does not seem undebatable. Mr. Fleay<sup>2</sup> surmises that Lyly was a candidate for the Mastership of the Revels, which became vacant in March, 1577, at the death of Sir Thomas Benger.<sup>3</sup> But that a youth of twenty-four who,

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Drama, Fleay. Vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Fleay, *Idem*, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> As there has been some confusion in the statements as to who was Master of the Revels from 1573-1579, it may be well to add this list made from the "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court." In 1571 we find (p. 1) "Sr Thom\*s Benger Knighte (being Mr of the seide office)". He did not, however, sign the accounts; Buggyn, "Clerk comptrouler," Blagrave, "Clerke," and J. Arnold, doing this. In May, 1572 (p. 16), occurs the entry: "The Mr of thoffice, vz Sr Thom\*s Benger Knighte," but the accounts still lack Benger's name. From June 1, 1572, to June 1, 1573, Sir John Fortescue, "Mr of the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>s great Warderobe" (p. 17), seems to have been in charge of the Revels: Sir Thomas Benger's name entirely disappears, and Fortescue's is the first on the list of those signing the accounts. The Mastership did not, however, really become vacant until March, 1577, when Benger died. Fortescue seems to have remained in charge until Oct. 1573, but from that date until March, 1574 (p. 48), "Thomas

until 1579, had apparently done nothing to give him any claim to the place should two years before have declared himself a candidate for the reversion does not seem very probable. Moreover, when Lyly, in his first begging letter to the Queen, speaks of his long, unsuccessful waiting for the position of Master of the Revels, he makes no mention of the vacancy from March, 1577, to December, 1578, or of any bitter disappointment in regard to it. In compiling a statement of

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Blagrave esquier, served therein [the Office of the Revels] as Master, according to her Ma<sup>ties</sup> pleasure signefyed by the right hono<sup>r</sup>able L. Chamberlaine." From Feb. 1574 to Feb. 1575 Blagrave served again, "appoynted Master . . . as by sundry Letters from the Lorde Chamberlayne maye appeare" (p. 77). Under this kind of special appointment Blagrave seems to have been in charge until Dec. 1578, for though we do not find his name specially mentioned as the Master's in the succeeding accounts, we find him signing the accounts where the Master's name should stand, and we know that Dec. 13, 1578, he was made "Chief Officer," but not Master, of the Revels (Fleay, Chron. Hist. p. 37.) In Dec. 1578, however, "Ed. Tyllney" signed his name beside Blagrave's to the accounts for Feb. 1577-78 to Dec. 1578 (p. 124). Now, we know that in July, 1579, Tylney was made permanent Master of the Revels (Fleay, Chron. Hist. p. 37), and that he was allowed rent of a house from Dec. 1578 (Revels' Accounts, pp. 149, 150), so, evidently, he was given a trial from Dec. 1578, and finally appointed in July. After March, 1579 (p. 152), Blagrave's name disappears until 1583 (p. 186). In other words, then, the real vacancy existed only from March, 1577, to Dec. 1578.

his grievances, would he have been likely to omit so heavy a blow as the appointment of Tylney? He certainly referred plainly enough in this and the second letter to other acts that he considered grievous. It will, too, be seen later (pp. lxxxix and clxiv) that Mr. Fleay's surmise ill accords with the probable date of Lyly's first play-writing and his begging letters to the Queen.

We do know, however, that in 1579 Lyly was incorporated M.A. at Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> This and his words in the *Euphues and his England*—"There are also in this Islande two famous Universities, the one *Oxforde*, the other *Cambridge*, both for the profession of all sciences, for Divinitie, phisicke, Lawe, and all kinde of learning, excelling all the Universities in Christendome. I was my selfe in either of them, and like them both so well, that I meane not in the way of controversie to preferre any for the better in Englande, but both for the best in the world"<sup>2</sup>—favor decidedly the idea that some part of the time between 1575 and 1579 was passed at Cambridge. When we consider, too, the nature of the first part of the *Euphues*, as compared with the second, there is a difference that gives some color to the idea that, until *Euphues*, *The Anatomie of Wit* appeared, Lyly was more at the universities than at the court, though watching his chance for an opening at the latter. As far as

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<sup>1</sup> Ath. Cantab. Cooper.

<sup>2</sup> English Reprints : Lyly. pp. 435, 436.

the contents of the first part of the *Euphues* are concerned, they could, with the exception of the letters of *Euphues* to his friends, have been written away from the court and with no knowledge of it. After the sharp break between the *Euphues and Atheos* and the letters, begin the references to court life and the Queen. Even these do not show anything like the same close personal knowledge of the court that the *Glasse* does.

What the *Anatomie* chiefly "anatomizes" is not, as in the *England*, the court, but the university life. It is, Lyly frankly admitted,<sup>1</sup> a compilation—the story of Euphues and Philautus; the translation of the *Ephæbus* from Plutarch; the *Atheos* (suggested by the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters of Guevara's *Dial for Princes*); the letters in the spirit of Guevara;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "If I seeme to gleane after an others Cart, for a few eares of corne, or of the Taylors shreds to make me a livery, I will not deny, but that I am one of those Poets, which the painters faine to come unto Homers bason, there to lap up, that he doth cast up." (Epist. Dedicatory, *Euphues and his England*, Arber, p. 215.)

"Gabriel Cawood. Licensed unto him the Anatomie of Witt, compiled by John Lyllie, under the hande of the bishopp of London . . . xij<sup>d</sup>." (Dec. 2, 1578, *Stationers' Register*.)

<sup>2</sup> The letter to Alcicus is in subject and treatment substantially the same as that of Marcus Aurelius to Epesipo, his nephew, in the *Dial for Princes*.—Ency. Brit.

—put together in the style of the *Dial*, as a youth still at, or fresh from, the universities might gather together in the style of the book most affecting him at the moment the paraphrases, translations, and original work he had done from time to time. Does it not seem probable that Lyly, ambitious to get an opening at the court, had, as a brilliant youth, made powerful friends at the university and occasionally been brought to court; that most of his time, however, was spent at the universities until 1579; but that late in 1578<sup>1</sup> he brought or sent to the publisher Cawood in London the first part of the *Euphues*, and, in order to win from the courtiers attention for his book, added, from his slight experience at the court, the touches as to it and the Queen. His own words suggest that he wished the book to repay some obligation which he owed Sir William West, Lord Delaware. He says: "The one [*The Anatomie of Wit*] I sent to a noble man to nurse, who with great love brought him up, for a yeare,"<sup>2</sup> and "neyther doe I set this forth for anie devotion in Print, but for duetie which I owe to my Patron."<sup>3</sup> What this aid of Lord Delaware's was we have no evidence to determine. Certainly, if this book was written after four years of court life under the protection of men like Burleigh, is it not odd that Lyly, who took naturally to court life, as his

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<sup>1</sup> See the second half of note 1, p. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> English Reprints; Lyly. p. 214. <sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 205.

own words show ;<sup>1</sup> who became in his second book, and remained throughout his life, one of the most fulsome flatterers of the time ; found occasion only in the last half-dozen pages of his first book to flatter the Queen,—and then in words insipid in comparison with the chance bits he drops by the way in all his later work ? As some one has said, *The Anatomie of Wit* Lyly apparently wrote to please himself and satisfy his conscience,—it spoke out clearly and strongly about abuses of the time ; the *England* was apparently written to please his readers,—and it is a combination of an intentionally flattering picture of England, the court, and the Queen, and a story containing no such direct censure as that of the *Anatomie*. The conditions, therefore, under which the two were written, the birthplace of the two, do not seem likely to have been the same.

*The Anatomie of Wit*, the first<sup>2</sup> of Lyly's works, appeared between December, 1578, and the spring of 1579, for it was licensed in December, and Lyly says: "The one" (*The*

<sup>1</sup> See pp. viii-x.

<sup>2</sup> "Which discourse . . . I hope you will the rather pardon for the rudenes in that it is the first."—*Epistle Dedicatorie ; Euphues, The Anatomie of Wit*, Arber, p. 203. "Who never before handling the pensill, did for my fyrst counterfaite, colour mine owne Euphues" (Arber, p. 213). "Of the first I was delivered before my friendes, thought mee conceived" (Arber, p. 214).

*Anatomie*) was "hatched in the hard winter.<sup>1</sup> All the signs of success mark its appearance. Lyly's friends urged him to give them more of *Euphues* ;<sup>2</sup> it raised envious detractors ;<sup>3</sup> it was sharply criticised for its supposed censure of Oxford, and Lyly felt called upon, between the printing of the first and the second edition (in 1579) of *The Anatomie of Wit*, to issue his address to *The Gentleman Scholars of Oxford*.<sup>4</sup> The book made it possible for Lyly to dedicate his second work to a much greater patron Lord Oxenford ;<sup>5</sup> it started a literary fashion.<sup>6</sup> Sure sign of success, a second volume, *Euphues and his England* was licensed for printing July 24, 1579.<sup>7</sup> But here came a pause in Lyly's rapid progress. The work thus licensed did not appear till months afterward. Lyly says : " I have brought into the worlde, two children. . . . Of the second " (*Euphues and his England*) " I went a whole yeare big, and yet when everye one thought me ready to lye down, I did then quicken : But good huswives shall make my ex-

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints : Lyly. p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> " Some there have been that praised mine olde worke, and urged me to make a new." *Idem*, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, pp. 223, 224.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, pp. 207, 208.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, pp. 213-218.

<sup>6</sup> The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare. J. J. Jusserand. Chap. IV. Blount: *To the Reader*.

<sup>7</sup> July 24, 1579, " G. Cawood, Lycenced unto him and — the second part of euphues." VI<sup>d</sup>. *Stationers' Register*.



cuse, who know that Hens do not lay egges when they clucke, but when they cackle, nor men set forth workes when they promise, but when they performe. And I in this resemble the Lappwing, who fearing hir young ones to be destroyed by passengers, flyeth with a false cry farre from their nestes, making those that looke for them seeke where they are are not: So I suspecting that Euphues would be carped of some curious Reader, thought by some false shewe to bringe them in hope of that which then I meant not, leading them with a longing of a second part, that they might speake well of the first, being never farther from my studie, then when they thought me hovering over it.”<sup>1</sup>

“Being a great start from Athens to England, he [Euphues] thought to stay for the advantage of a Leape yearre [1580], and had not this yeare leapt with him, I think he had not yet leapt hether.”<sup>2</sup>

Lyly speaks of the second book as “not daring to bud till the colde were past.”<sup>3</sup> Literally interpreted, that would mean the spring of 1580. Lyly’s own explanations of the undoubted fact that the book was not published until the spring or summer of 1580, become, however, a little suspicious when we consider some dates in the *Euphues and his England*. The last letter of Philautus to Euphues, received by the latter

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 215.

not a "quarter of a yeare" <sup>1</sup> after he left England, is dated 1 Feb. 1579,<sup>2</sup> but in the opening paragraph of the book Lyly says that Euphues and Philautus "tooke shipping the first of December 1579 by our English Computation."<sup>3</sup> In Feb. 1580 they landed at Dover. In Lent, 1580, Lady Flavia<sup>4</sup> gave her supper-party, yet in Feb. 1579 Euphues, something like three months after leaving England, received a letter from Philautus that does much to bring the story to a close. Evidently, as both Professor Arber and Mr. Fleay<sup>5</sup> point out, all the dates in the the book, except the last, were once earlier, and for some reason have been changed. Such changes would show that the book was finished a considerable time before it was printed, and that they were made to bring it up to date. If the dates preceding Feb. 1, 1579, were still earlier originally, a student must wonder whether the *Euphues and his England* was not written very shortly after the appearance of *The Anatomie of Wit*—that is, in the winter of 1579. The first set of dates, ending with Feb. 1, 1579, would then have accorded well with the possible dates of *The Anatomie of Wit*.

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. p. 464. <sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 470.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, p. 210. Chron. Eng. Drama. Fleay. II. 37, 38. Mr. Fleay notes that the last date, Feb. 1, 1579, could not be made to accord with the others unless changed to July, 1580, or Feb. 1580-81, and that the date of issue apparently would not permit of either of these dates.

It is, however, odd that in the *Glasse for Europe* Lyly writes of an event which did not take place until after Feb. 1579, the date of the letter of Philautus which seems to have come to Euphues after he had written the *Glasse*.<sup>1</sup> Here is the passage referred to: "I my selfe being in *England* when hir majestie was for hir recreation in hir Barge upon ye Thames, hard of a Gun that was shotte off though of the partie unwittingly, yet to hir noble person daungerously, which fact she most graciously pardoned, accepting a iust excuse before a great amends, taking more grieffe for hir poore Bargeman, that was a little hurt, than care for hir selfe that stode in greatest hasarde."<sup>2</sup> This refers to an incident which the popular imagination of Lyly's time construed into an attempt, authorized by Leicester, on the French ambassador, Simier. It took place apparently in May, 1579.<sup>3</sup> The presence of this passage in the *Glasse* must mean one of two things: either Lyly wrote the *Glasse for Europe* and all the last part of the book after May, 1579, and did not notice his conflict in dates, or he wrote first the Euphues-Philautus story, and then, some time later, added the *Glasse for Europe*. The evident attempt, however, to make the dates throughout

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. pp. 432, 433, 464.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 453.

<sup>3</sup> Les Projets de Mariage de la Reine Elisabeth, La Ferrière. pp. 218, 219.

the book consistent shows some care for details, and gives probability to the idea that the reference in the *Glasse for Europe* was overlooked because it was not in the original plan for the work, but was added after the *Euphues-Philautus* story was written. If it was inserted at the time when the dates were changed and that of the letter of Philautus forgotten, the conflict is easy to understand. If, too, a student will compare the two parts of the *Euphues*, he will see that the second is much longer than the first; that most of the additional space is filled by the *Glasse for Europe*; that, if he omits the *Glasse*,<sup>1</sup> he needs to add only a few words to make the remaining parts of the book connect well; that, because of the omission, the story of Euphues and Philautus is more effective; and that the omission gets rid of a decided conflict in dates, and makes Feb. 1, 1579, a fitting date, by the original plan, for the last letter of Philautus. There would seem to be, then, some ground for suspecting that, though the rest of *Euphues and his England* was finished not long after Feb. 1579, the *Glasse for Europe* may have been added some time after the original draft of the book was completed. Later<sup>2</sup> we shall find other evidence favoring this idea.

What was, probably, the cause of this long delay, for which Lyly makes rather ponderous

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. pp. 432-464. <sup>2</sup> See p. xc,

excuses, and for the addition, if it was made, to the original MSS.? Professor Arber offers no suggestion. Mr. Fleay,<sup>1</sup> working with the idea that from 1575 Lyly was a candidate for Master of the Revels, thinks, since on the day of the licensing of the second part of the *Euphues* the writ appointing Edmund Tylney Master of the Revels was issued, that the cause of the delay was Lyly's bitter disappointment at not getting the office. Mr. Fleay thinks, too, that had Lyly obtained the position, he intended to dedicate the book to Lord Burleigh or the Queen. This last supposition, resting evidently on the praise of the Queen and Lord Burleigh in the *Glasse for Europe*, fails, of course, if by any chance that is an addition after July, 1579. A possibility that this is true has been shown.<sup>2</sup> It certainly seems odd that, if Lyly was a courtier, trying hard to get the Mastership of the Revels, he had no inkling until the issuance of the writ of July 29, 1579, that his chances were naught, for Tylney was certainly connected with the Revels' Office from Dec. 1578; was apparently appointed on trial at that time; and his permanent appointment, merely, settled in July.<sup>3</sup> Could an eager aspirant for Tylney's position have been wholly ignorant from December to July of what was going on? Moreover, though the *Euphues and his England* was evidently intended to advance Lyly's

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dram., II. 37, 38.   <sup>2</sup> See pp. xxix-xxx.

<sup>3</sup> See note, p. xxi.

interests, it does not offer a hint of any special interest he wished it to forward; and if during two years Lyly had been, and during the years to come wished to be, a candidate for Tylney's position, does it not seem likely that he would have let some reference to his special desire slip out in the second part of the *Euphues*? Why, too, even if he was sorely disappointed in his hopes, should he have delayed for a year a book ready to be printed,<sup>1</sup> expected by the public,<sup>2</sup> and likely to increase his reputation greatly? If we believe that the book as originally written contained the *Glasse for Europe*, Lyly may, perhaps, be supposed to have hesitated to print that fulsome flattery when it must sound, in his disappointment, hypocritical. But was an Elizabethan likely to delay for a whole year, because of some inconsistency between his real feelings and those expressed by him, the publication of an eagerly-expected book? Certainly, he could easily have toned down the panegyric. On the other hand, there is doubt whether the *Glasse* was not added after July, 1579;<sup>3</sup> and the flattery in it is so unstinted as to suggest some special recent cause for gratitude to the Queen and high momentary favor, when it was written. When all this is considered, does it not seem more likely that the desire for the position of the Master of the Revels followed rather than pre-

<sup>1</sup> See p. xxx.    <sup>2</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. pp. 213, 214.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. xxvi, xxvii.

ceded the appearance of the second part of the *Euphues*?

The prolonged delay in publishing a sequel (written mainly, if not entirely, before its licensing in July, 1579) to a great success, certainly suggests in the time attending or immediately following the licensing of the book some very serious check to Lyly's career,—even royal disfavor. For this disfavor, though Mr. Fleay seems forced to believe in it,<sup>1</sup> he offers no reason. There is a supposition, however, which meets the difficulties of the problem as well as Mr. Fleay's suggestion, and accounts for the royal disfavor. It is that Lyly was by July, 1579, associated in the Queen's mind with Lord Leicester, as one of his followers or faction;—it took in nearly all of the court;—that Lyly shared in the disfavor which Lord Leicester and his friends lived under from late July, 1579,<sup>2</sup> till July, 1580;<sup>3</sup> that because of this disfavor Lyly did not deem it wise to bring out his book (metaphorically as well as literally) "until the colde were past,"<sup>4</sup> the summer of 1580, when Leicester and his friends were again in favor. Certainly that the book, licensed to be printed just as the storm broke, was delayed,

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dram., II. 38.   <sup>2</sup> See p. xxxiv. Note.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Sidney. H. R. Fox Bourne. p. 211. The authority here seems to be a MS. in the possession of Mr. Cottrell-Dormer, at Rousham, near Oxford.

<sup>4</sup> *Euphues and his England*, *Ep. Ded.*, Arber. p. 215.

though eagerly looked for by the public, until that storm was passing away, is very significant.

Let us look rapidly at the evidence bearing on the supposition. At just about the date of the licensing of the *England*, July 24, 1579, Simier, the French ambassador, revealed to Elizabeth the secret marriage of Lord Leicester to Lettice, Countess of Essex.<sup>1</sup> Until the summer of 1580 the resulting disfavor of the Queen lasted, though with periods of less severity. During this time the court was much disturbed by the quarrel, and Leicester's friends and followers stood by him loyally. Robert Parsons writes: "And if you will have an evi-

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<sup>1</sup> "Lorsqu'il (Simier) vint annoncer à Élisabeth que le duc arriverait dans les premiers jours d'août, elle ne donna aucun ordre pour sa réception. Sa tendresse pour Leicester parut un instant se reveiller. Il était urgent de frapper un grand coup; Simier en eut l'audace. . . . Sans aucune préparation, il apprit à la reine que Leicester était marié secrètement à Lettice Knollys, la veuve d'Essex. A cette révélation inattendue, entrant dans une de ses colères de lionne, elle se roula par terre, injuriant tous ceux qui l'approchèrent, et refusant de manger. Elle fit alors enfermer Leicester dans un des forts de Greenwich. . . . La place était donc libre, le duc pouvait venir. . . . Parti le 2 août, . . . il s'embarqua à Boulogne, et à son arrivée alla droit à Greenwich." (Les Projets de Mariage de la Reine Élisabeth. La Ferrière. pp. 220-21.)

Evidently, then, the rupture with Leicester immediately preceded the coming of the Duc d'Anjou in the first week of August.



dent Demonstration of this man's [Leicester's] power and favour in that place, call but to mind the times when Her Majesty, upon most just and urgent occasions, did withdraw but a little her wonted Favour and Countenance from him, did not all the Court as it were mutiny presently? Did not every Man hang the Lip, except but a few, who afterwards paid sweetly for their mirth?"<sup>1</sup> At such a time Lyly, if he was regarded by the Queen as in any way connected with Leicester, would not have been wise to bring out the *England*, for whether it originally contained the *Glasse for Europe* or did not, Lyly could not, as a follower of Leicester, hope for any special favor for it from the Queen, and in the troubled condition of the court the book would not be likely to make the success of its predecessor among the courtiers.

What, however, is the probability that Lyly was thus associated with Leicester in the Queen's mind? Leicester was chancellor of Oxford,<sup>2</sup> where Lyly had been a prominent undergraduate. In 1575<sup>3</sup> Leicester gave his famous entertainment for Elizabeth at Kenilworth, to which all the neighborhood flocked. Then Lyly was still at Oxford. Leicester was the patron of actors,

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<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Robert Dudley* [Robert Parsons]. *Collectanea Adamantea*, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1888, II. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Leicester was made chancellor 30 Dec. in 7 Eliz. *Letters and Memorials of State*. A. Collins. Vol. I. p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> *Laneham's Letter*. *New Shaks. Society*. 1887. Series VI.

playwrights, men of wit. Lyly may well have known him, therefore, before *The Anatomie* made him prominent at the court. Add that through Leicester lay the way to success at the court ;<sup>1</sup> that there are reasons for believing that in aid of Leicester's plans at different times Lyly wrote *Endymion*<sup>2</sup> and even *Sapho and Phao*, since the latter play shows distinctly that he was no favorer of the marriage with the Duc d'Anjou ;<sup>3</sup> and does it not seem possible that by July, 1579, Lyly was already enough connected with the great favorite's interests to feel unsafe in risking during the year of disfavor the publication of his book ? Then, in the summer of 1580, when "the cold" was past, he might well bring out his book and in his satisfaction add *The Glasse for Europe*.

The book certainly seems to have brought Lyly desirable results. The formality of his dedication of the work to Lord Oxenford, the

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<sup>1</sup> " Hereof also ensueth, that no man may be preferred in the Court, be he otherwise never so well a deserving Servant to Her Majesty, except he be one of Leicester's Faction or Followers : None can receive Grace, except he stand in good favour; no one may live in continuance and quiet of Life, except he take it, use it, and acknowledge it from him: so as all the favours, graces, dignities, preferments, riches and rewards which Her Majesty bestoweth, or the Realm can yield must serve to purchase this mans private friends and favourers, only to advance his party and fortify his faction." *Memoirs of Robert Dudley*. Vol. II. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xliii-lxxiv.

<sup>3</sup> See p. xl. Foot-note.

difference in tone between it and that to Lord Delaware,<sup>1</sup> seem to mean that at the time of the dedication Lyly did not know well Lord Oxenford, one of the chief patrons of letters at the court. Indeed, Gabriel Harvey, writing a dozen years later, complained that at about this time Lyly, anxious to curry favor with the Earl, tried to convince him that Harvey in his lines, *The Mirrour of Tuscanismo*,<sup>2</sup> printed in his letters to Spenser, *Three Proper, Wittie, Familiar Letters*, had satirized him.<sup>3</sup> The dedication of this work

<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. pp. 202-204.

<sup>2</sup> *The Mirrour of Tuscanismo* is one of Harvey's cumbersome attempts at English verse in classic metres. The Works of Gabriel Harvey. Grosart. Vol. I. p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> "And that was all the Fleeting, that ever I felt; saving that an other company of special good fellows, (whereof he was none of the meanest that bravely threatened to coniure-upp one, which should massacre Martins wit, or should bee lambackd himself with ten yeares provision) [see *Pappe-with-an Hatchet*. Saintsbury, p. 56] would needs forsooth verye courtly persuade the Earle of Oxforde, that something in those Letters, and namely, the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordship I protest I never meante to dishonour with the least preiudicial word of my Tongue, or pen: but ever kept a mindefull reckoning of many bounden duties toward the same: Since in the prime of his gallātest youth, hee bestowed Angels upon me in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gracious favours. But the noble Earle, not disposed to trouble his Jovial mind with such Saturnine paltery still continued, like his magnificent selfe: and that Fleeting also proved, like the

of Harvey's is dated June 19, 1580, a time almost identical with that heretofore reached as the date for the *England*. Harvey's complaint seems to show, then, that his work just preceded or immediately followed the *England*, which is dedicated to Lord Oxenford.

It is barely possible, too, that Burleigh, in recognition of the praise bestowed on him in the *Glasse for Europe*, gave Lyly the position which in 1582<sup>1</sup> he seems, from a letter written to the Lord Treasurer, to have been holding for some time. This is, however, mere supposition.

The most important reward was, of course, to be looked for from the Queen, who could hardly fail to give Lyly some recognition for flattery of her seldom, if ever, surpassed. Not long after

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other, a silly bullbear, a sorry puffe of winde, a thing of nothing."—*Foure Letters and Certaine Sonnets*. (1592). Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. i. pp. 183, 184.

"Papp-hatchet, desirous for his benefit, to currie favour with a noble Earle; and in defecte of other meanes of Commendatiō, labouring to insinuate himselfe by smooth glosing, and coūterfait suggestiōs, (it is a Courtly feate to snatch the least occasionet of advantage, with a nimble dexteritie); some yeares since provoked me, to make the best of it, inconsiderately; to speake like a frend, unfrendly; to say, as it was, intolerably; without private cause, or any reason in the world: (for in truth I looved him, in hope praysed him, many wayes favored him, and never any way offended him)."—*Pierce's Supererogation*. (1589). Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. II. pp. 122, 123. 1589.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. civ-cvii.

the publication of the second part of the *Euphues* would have been a fitting time for the Queen to entertain Lyly, as he says she did, as one of her servants by her "owne gracious favour."<sup>1</sup> That she should have "strengthened" this "with condicions, that I should ayme all my courses at the Revells (I dare not saye with a promise, but a hopefull Item to the rev'con)" suggests some preceding success by Lyly in dramatic work. If Lyly had been a disappointed aspirant for the position of Master of the Revels, would the phrase "with condicions" rather than permission or advice have been used?

If, now, we look at Lyly's comedies, there seems to be some reason to think that by the summer of 1580 he had done some dramatic work; that, therefore, these "condicions" had a cause. Just when John Lyly became a dramatist is unsettled. Mr. Fleay says in 1581.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is evidence which seems to point to an even earlier date. Before April 1, 1585,<sup>3</sup> Lyly had printed two plays, *Alexander and Campaspe* (at first called *Alexander Campaspe and Diogenes*) and *Sapho and Phao* (entered as *Sapho*), and had obtained a license for, but had not printed, a third, *Galatea* (in the license called *Tityrus and Galatea*).<sup>4</sup> There is no internal evidence in

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<sup>1</sup> See Lyly's first letter to the Queen, p. clvi.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.* p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> In this Introduction, the names of the plays, with the

*Alexander and Campaspe* that makes it possible to place narrow limits within which it must have been written. The evident allegory of *Sapho and Phao*<sup>1</sup> shows, however, that the play must have been written after the irate departure of the Duc d'Alençon from England in February, 1582. *Gallathea* gives us no internal evidence as to the date of its original draft, except that it followed *Sapho and Phao*.<sup>2</sup> The earliest date that

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exception of *Endymion*, are spelled as they are in Blount's and Fairholt's editions.

<sup>1</sup> The Prince left England Feb. 6, 1582 (Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 40). For similarities between the play and incidents in the negotiations of the Prince for the hand of Elizabeth compare pp. 471-486, Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth* in Kennet's *Complete History of England* (1706), vol. II., with *Sapho and Phao*, particularly Act III. Sc. 3, Sc. 4; Act V. Sc. 2 and 3. These similarities show pretty clearly that Lyly was "glancing at" court history which was recent when the play was produced.

<sup>2</sup> "DIANA. I have *Cupid*, and will keepe him; not to dandle in my lap, whom I abhorre in my heart; but to laugh him to scorne that hath made in my virgins' hearts such deepe scarres.—*Gallathea*, Act V. Sc. 3.

"VENUS. Sir boy, where have you beene? alwaies taken, first by *Sapho*, now by *Diana*; how hapneth it, you unhappie elphe?"—*Gallathea*, Act V. Sc. 3.

"SAPHO. Sweet *Cupid*, strike *Phao* with it. Thou shalt sit in my lap, I will rocke thee asleepe, and feed thee with all fine knackes.

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"VENUS. I marvaile *Cupid* commeth not all this while. How now, in *Saphoes* lap!

these plays give, then, is after February, 1582, but a play of Lyly's, *Endymion*, not printed until 1591, seems from its contents to belong to this early group, and to suggest an even earlier date for dramatic work by Lyly.

He who wishes an illustration of the saying *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse* will find it in the epilogue of *Endymion* :—

“ Most High and Happy Princess, we must tell you a tale of the Man in the Moon which if it seem ridiculous for the method, or superfluous for the matter, or for the means incredible, for three faults we can make but one excuse. It is a tale of the Man in the Moon ” (i.e., a fable, a fiction).

“ It was forbidden in old time to dispute of Chimæra, because it was a fiction ; we hope in our times none will apply pastimes, because they are fancies ; for there liveth none under the sun that knows what to make of the Man in the Moon. We present neither comedy, nor tragedy,

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“ SAPHO. Yea, Venus, what say you to it ?”—*Sapho and Phao*, Act V. Sc. 2.

These cross-references in *Gallathea* (the first pointed out by Mr. Fleay, Chron. Eng. Dr., p. 41 ; the second not apparently noticed hitherto) show plainly that *Gallathea* followed *Sapho and Phao*, and suggest that, even if not acted until after the first suppression of the St. Paul's boys, it was composed immediately after *Sapho and Phao*. Unless it was to follow that play immediately, would not such a reference to a detail, the dandling, in *Sapho and Phao* have been causeless ?

nor story, nor anything but that whosoever heareth may say this : Why, here is a tale of the Man in the Moon." <sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that the writer of these words felt that certain places in his play would seem to the quick-witted courtiers to glance at events in court-life or in the politics of the time. Those who hold that *Endymion* is not a political allegory of course accept this deprecatory speech as entirely sincere, and are forced to believe that in writing a mythological comedy Lyly found himself obliged to suggest analogies which needed some apology. What in the myth he chose obliged him to do this, and why, if he feared dangerous applications of parts of his play to recent events, he left these places unchanged, are, with this view, not quite clear. One is rather driven to the other conclusion, that this deprecatory tone is not genuine, but merely calls attention to the analogies, piquing the curiosity and arousing the ingenuity of the audience.

The difference, too, between the tone of the prologue and the epilogue is in itself suggestive. The prologue skilfully deprecates any anger that application of parts of the play to current events might arouse, soothes in order that a hearing may be obtained. The epilogue is more aggressive. The play has been heard. Therefore

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 3.



the actors speak out frankly, and, practically admitting a purpose in their work, defy their enemies, if the Queen but favor the play. "Dread Sovereign, the malicious that seek to overthrow us with threats do but stiffen our thoughts, and make them sturdier in storms; but if Your Highness vouchsafe with your favorable beams to glance upon us, we shall not only stoop, but, with all humility, lay both our hands and our hearts at Your Majesty's feet."<sup>1</sup> What, then, were the applications feared by the actors, why were they feared, and who were these "malicious enemies"?

In 1847 the Rev. N. J. Halpin<sup>2</sup> first suggested that *Endymion* is a political allegory, and made a list of identifications of the *dramatis personæ*. To him it seemed "highly probable" that Endymion is the Earl of Leicester; Cynthia, the Queen; Tellus, the Countess of Sheffield; Eumenides, the Earl of Sussex; Floscula, the Countess of Essex; Corsites, Sir Edmund Stafford; and "probable" that Semele is Lady Frances Sidney; Dipsas, the Countess of Shrewsbury; Geron, the Earl of Shrewsbury.<sup>3</sup> He bases his identifications on the similarity between incidents in the play and in the lives of these people. Mr. Halpin's main idea, that *En-*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Oberon's Vision. N. J. Halpin. *Shaks. So.* 1847, pp. 49-108.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.* p. 77.

*dymion* is an allegory of court life, but not his whole list of identifications, has won many followers. Mr. Morley, on the other hand, rather scornfully dismisses the idea of an allegory in the play with these words: "This way of hobbling Pegasus with logs of prose has friends enough. I am not of their company."<sup>1</sup> May there not be a middle course? Mr. Halpin takes the allegory too literally, too rigidly, and hence several of his identifications must be thrown out. Even if some of the figures in the play can be identified, why should that mean that Lyly must have had a living model for every person in it? Yet that is practically what Mr. Halpin assumes. Allegories, however, are rarely so complete as this, and, as we shall soon see,<sup>2</sup> the Elizabethan allegories certainly were not. Moreover, even if it were possible, at this late date, to identify all of the characters of the play, that would be a comparatively useless task. The interest in the investigation lies in showing, not that there is a complete allegory in the play, but that *Endymion* is, instead of a mere airy trifle, a play with a purpose.

Let us look for a moment at the similarities between facts of court history and the play. In May, 1573, Lord Leicester had secretly married at Esher, Douglas Sheffield, widow of John, second baron of Sheffield. Later "his sentiments

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<sup>1</sup> English Writers. Vol. ix. p. 204. <sup>2</sup> See pp. lxiii-lxiv.

changed, and he offered Lady Sheffield £700 a year to ignore their relationship. The offer was indignantly rejected. . . . Although unable to rid himself of Lady Sheffield, he was making love to Lettice, the widowed Countess of Essex, with whose late husband, Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, he had been on very bad terms. Lady Essex, who was well known to the Queen, and interchanged gifts with her on New Year's Day, 1578, had long been on intimate terms with Leicester, and had stayed at Kenilworth during the festivities of 1575, while her husband was in Ireland." In "1578 Leicester, having finally abandoned all hopes of the Queen's hand, married Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex. The ceremony was first performed at Kenilworth, and afterwards (21 Sept. 1578) at Wanstead, in the presence of Leicester's brother, Warwick, Lord North, Sir Francis Knollys, the lady's father, and others. . . . The fact of the marriage was kept carefully from Elizabeth's knowledge, although very many courtiers were in the secret.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Whereby [Leicester's absolute rule in the court] he holdeth, as it were a lock upon the ears of his prince, and all the tongues of Her Majestie's servants, so surely chained to his girdle, as no man dareth to speak one thing, that may offend him, though it were never so true and behoofeful for Her Majesty to know: As well as appeared in his late marriage with Dame Essex, which albeit was celebrated twice, first at Killingworth, and secondly at Wainstead in the presence of the Earl of War[w]ick, Lord North, Sir Francis Knowles, and others,

In August, 1579,<sup>1</sup> M. de Simier, the French ambassador, who was negotiating Alençon's marriage, suddenly broke the news to the Queen. Elizabeth behaved as if she were heart-broken, and three days later promised to accept Alençon on his own terms. She ordered Leicester to confine himself to the castle of Greenwich, and talked of sending him to the Tower, but Sussex<sup>2</sup> advised her to be merciful. Leicester's friends declared that he voluntarily became a prisoner in his own chamber on the pretence of taking physic (see Greville's *Life of Sir P. Sidney*)."<sup>3</sup>

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and this being exactly known to the whole court, with the very day, the place, witnesses, and the minister that married them together, yet no man durst open his mouth to make Her Majesty privy thereunto, until Monsieur Shemiers disclosed the same." *Memoirs of Robert Dudley*. Vol. II. p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> See note p. xxxiv for evidence that late July is the proper date and for an account of the interview.

<sup>2</sup> "But Sussex, though his greatest and deadliest enemy, and one that earnestly endeavoured to promote the marriage with Anjou, dissuades her [from her angry plans]; whilst, out of a solid judgment, and of the innate generosity of his noble mind, he was of opinion that no man was to be troubled for lawful marriage, which amongst all men hath ever been had in honour and esteem. Yet glad he was that by this marriage he [Leicester] was now put beside all hope of marrying with the Queen." *Annals of Elizabeth, Camden, in Kennet's Complete History of England*. 1706. Vol. II. p. 463.

<sup>3</sup> *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*: Lyly. Vol. XVI. pp. 116, 117.

A MS. note by Strype<sup>1</sup> to a letter dated Nov. 12, 1579, sent by Leicester to Lord Burleigh

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<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth and Her Times. T. Wright. Vol. II. p. 103. The gist of the letter to which this note of Strype's is added is as follows :

“ I perceave by my brother of Warwyke, your Lordship hath found the like bitterness in her Majesty toward me that others (too many) have acquainted me lately withall. I must confess it greveth me not a lyttle, having so faythfully, carefully, and chargeably served her Majesty this twenty yeres, as I have done.

“ Your Lordship is witness, I trust, that in all her services I have bene a direct servant unto her, her state, and crown; that I have not more sought myne owne particular proffyt than her honor.

“ Her Majesty, I see, is grown into a very strange humour, all things considered, toward me ; howsoever it were trew or false, as she is informed, the state whereof I will not dyspute. Albeit, I cannot confess a greater bondage in those cases, than my dewty of allegiance oweth. Your Lordship hath bene best acquainted, next myself, to all my proceedings with her Majesty and I have ere now broken my very hart with you, and have offered, for avoyding of such blame, as I have generally in the realme, myne own exyle, that I might not be suspected a hinderer of that matter, [the Queen's marriage,] which all the world desired, and were sutors for.

“ I well understand from whence this cometh now, not for so good a purpose as I meant then. But God judge them as they intend ! I wyll be found faythfull and just to her Majesty, no wrongs, dishonors, or other indygnities offered me, shall alter my dewtyfull affection toward her, neither wyll I acknowledge more good dealings at their hands, that have bene causers of this, than dew respect to her Majesty shall commande

states that the first anger of the Queen passed in "a month or two," and Leicester "seemed

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me. I ever had a very honourable mynd in all my actions, as neare as my capacity might dyrect me, (and with modesty be it spoken,) toward her servyce in my pore calling. Even so was it never abased in any slavish manner, to be tyed in more than unequall and unreasonable bands.

"And as I caryed myself almost more than a bondman many a yere together, so long as one dropp of comfort was left of any hope, as you yourself, my Lord, doth well know, so being acquitted and delyvered of that hope, and, by both open and pryvate protestations and declarations dyscharged, methinks it is more than hard to take such an occasion to beare so great dyspleasure for; but the old proverbe saythe, 'they that wyll beat a dogge shall want no weapon.' This is a farr fett matter to pyck to me.

"The cause is some other, I must suppose, or ells my lyfe is very wretched and unhappie. But why do I trouble your Lordship with this matter? I meant only to thank you for that you have done, and to friend me as in truth I shall be found to deserve.

"For her manner toward me, I may not find lacke, I know what I have bene, and am to her in all humble dewty. She may, perhaps, forthink her benefitts bestowed. So may I say, I have lost both youth, liberty, and all my fortune reposed in her; and, my Lord, by that tyme I have made an even reckoning with the world, your Lordship wyll not give me much for the remainder of my twenty yeres' service; but I trust styll, she that hath been so gracious to all, wyll not only be grievous to me. . . ."

Dated Nov. 12, 1579.—*Idem.* Vol. II. pp. 103-105.

to be in better terms with her ; being appointed with the Lord Treasurer and some others to consider of the marriage. But the Queen's displeasure brake out again towards the latter end of the year, and, as it seems, upon the same occasion; whereupon he wrote this letter, intending that the Lord Treasurer should represent his humble behaviour to her Majesty under her indignation. But the letter, which he wrote at London, was not delivered to the Treasurer, being then with the Queen at Greenwich." The displeasure of the Queen did not, as we have seen,<sup>1</sup> entirely pass away until July, 1580.

Now Mr. Halpin makes a good part of his identifying rest on the similarity between the imprisonment of Leicester at Greenwich and the sleep of Endymion on the lunar bank, between the aid given Endymion by Eumenides and that given Leicester by Sussex.<sup>2</sup> The preceding pages show clearly that these incidents occurred in 1579, and in connection with the Queen's discovery of Leicester's marriage to the Countess of Essex, not to the Countess of Sheffield. Mr. Halpin, though he declares early in his paper<sup>3</sup> that in 1575 the news of the amour with the Countess of Sheffield was "stale news at court," uses it as if it were not stale in 1579, and later confuses incidents belonging to this early amour

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<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Oberon's Vision. p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 41.

of Leicester's with incidents connected with his marriage with Lettice, Countess of Essex.<sup>1</sup> His list of identifications, therefore, becomes of doubtful value, and the comparison between the play and incidents of the relations of Leicester and the Queen needs to be made anew. Let us now, with the history just recounted in mind, look at the play for a moment.

Endymion (Leicester), the chief noble of Cynthia's (Elizabeth's) court, is hopelessly in love with Cynthia (Elizabeth). In 1579 rumor had said for years that Lord Leicester wished to marry the Queen.<sup>2</sup> Endymion (Leicester) is in turn beloved by Tellus (Lettice, Countess of Essex). He is "settled either to die, or to possess the moon [Elizabeth] herself";<sup>3</sup> his "fall, though it be desperate, shall come by daring."<sup>4</sup> With "fair Tellus [the Countess] have I dissembled," he says, "using her but as a cloak for mine affection" (Leicester's first excuse for his conduct), "that others, seeing my mangled and disordered mind, might think it were for one that loveth me, not for Cynthia [Elizabeth], whose perfection alloweth no companion, nor compari-

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<sup>1</sup> Oberon's Vision. p. 59-64.

<sup>2</sup> Annals of Elizabeth, Camden, in Kennet's Complete History of England. 1706. Vol. II. p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 7. If the quotations are verified in the play, the reader will find additional evidence in support of the theory now developing.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 9.



son.”<sup>1</sup> With Tellus he certainly does dissemble. Assuring her, as Leicester must have assured the Countess of Essex, that he is in heaven itself when she is with him, and that “to love her and to live”<sup>2</sup> are with him synonymous, he endeavors to lull her jealousy asleep by reminding her that “the stately cedar, whose top reacheth unto the clouds, never boweth his head to the shrubs that grow in the valley, nor ivy that climbeth by the elm can ever get hold of the beams of the sun.” “Cynthia” he “honors in all humility, whom none ought to dare adventure to love; whose affections are immortal and whose virtues infinite.”<sup>3</sup> He begs she may set her heart at ease and suffer him “to gaze upon the moon [Elizabeth], at whom, were it not for Tellus [Countess of Essex], he should die with wondering.”<sup>4</sup> Certainly, these are not unlike the words with which Leicester must have excused to the Countess his coquetting with the Queen, and this is the intense adoration of the Queen from a distance which Elizabeth liked to think was the state of mind of most of her nobles.

Tellus (Countess of Essex), however, is not only fond, but ambitious. If she have not the heart of a lover so distinguished, she will at least have the reputation of being his mistress; “it shall suffice” her “if the world talk that” she is “favoured of Endymion”; and she is “so op-

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<sup>1</sup> P. 23.<sup>2</sup> P. 25<sup>3</sup> P. 27.<sup>4</sup> *Idem.*

pressed with love that, neither able with beauty nor wit to obtain her friend," she "will rather use unlawful means than try intolerable pains."<sup>1</sup> She will "entangle him in such a sweet net that he shall neither find the means to come out, nor desire it. All allurements of pleasure will" she "cast before his eyes, insomuch that he shall slake that love which he now voweth to Cynthia [Elizabeth] and burn in hers."<sup>2</sup> Here we have Leicester's second excuse,—fancifully stated,—that he was bewitched by Lettice's charms. The Countess of Essex was certainly "oppressed with love," for even before her husband's death, in July, 1576, there were evil rumors about her and Leicester.<sup>3</sup> "In this languishing between" Tellus's "amorous devices and his [Endymion's] own loose desires, there shall such dissolute thoughts take root in his head, and over his heart grow so thick a skin, that neither hope of preferment, nor counsel of the wisest, nor company of the worthiest, shall alter his humor, nor make him once to think of his honor."<sup>4</sup> All this Tellus hopes to accomplish through Dipsas, a sorceress. Leicester says, then, that the Countess (whom he was using merely as a cloak for his affections for Elizabeth) has done everything possible to make him love her, and

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<sup>1</sup> P. 13.<sup>2</sup> P. 12.<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Elizabeth, Camden*, in *Kennet*. Vol. II. p. 465. *Memoirs of Robert Dudley*. Vol. II. pp. 13, 14.<sup>4</sup> P. 13.

to turn aside his affection from the Queen, but that he has been thoroughly loyal and his position has been misunderstood by the Queen. The wildness of his love for the Queen and the machinations of his enemies are responsible for whatever has seemed unfitting in his past conduct toward Elizabeth.

The power of Dipsas, however, does not go so far as Tellus desires. There is nothing she is unable to do except that which Tellus would have her attempt; for she is "not able to rule hearts," nor "to place affection by appointment."<sup>1</sup> She can, indeed, "breed slackness in love, though never root it out"; and she can effect "that Cynthia [Elizabeth] should mistrust him or be jealous of him [Leicester] without color." Tellus (the Countess) contents herself with this, that "seeing her love to Endymion, unspotted, cannot be accepted, his faith to Cynthia [the Queen], though it be unspeakable, may be suspected."<sup>2</sup> Dipsas says, however, that the charm can be only temporary; it "will wear out with time, that treadeth all things down but truth."<sup>3</sup> In other words, the revelations of de Simier showing that Leicester had been deceiving the Queen while secretly married to the Countess of Essex are slanders against a man who has merely been seeking a way peacefully to maintain his absolute devotion

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<sup>1</sup> P. 21.<sup>2</sup> P. 22.<sup>3</sup> *Idem.*

to the Queen ; and Elizabeth unjustly suspects him whose love for her is unspeakable. Nor can such misrepresentation fail to be detected in time.

If the allegory followed the facts of the court scandal, the treatment of Endymion by Dipsas should represent de Simier's denouncing of Leicester to the Queen. That would, however, have been a difficult matter to treat clearly, without giving great offence, before an audience in which there would be friends of de Simier and of the French party. Consequently, a reader finds at this point in the play a vagueness in the allegory to which Lyly for self-protection at times has recourse in his work. Dipsas, finding Endymion in a position that places him at her mercy,—asleep on a bank of lunary,<sup>1</sup>—renders him inert, deadens all his faculties, by the spell of prolonged sleep. Not what de Simier did or said, but the conditions under which he spoke and the effect of his words are what Lyly allegorizes. De Simier, taking advantage of the unfortunate position in which Leicester had placed himself by his marriage to the Countess of Essex, took away, as the Earl wrote in his

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<sup>1</sup> P. 36. It is noteworthy that lunary when bound to the pulse of the sick caused, according to Lyly (see note, p. 35), nothing but dreams of weddings and dances. Endymion asleep on a bed of lunary may well then, allegorically, be Leicester rendered indifferent to his surroundings by his passion for the Countess of Essex.

letter of complaint to Burleigh, "youth, liberty, and all his future,"<sup>1</sup> reduced Leicester to helplessness by bringing upon him the disfavor of the Queen. But this sleep has a twofold significance, one general, the other specific, as allegorical representation so often has<sup>2</sup>: it is, not merely, in general, the disfavor of the Queen, but apparently, more specifically, at moments, the confinement of Leicester to the fort at Greenwich. Even the threatened removal of Leicester to the Tower seems to be referred to in the later effort of Corsites to remove Endymion from the unary bank to a "dark cave."<sup>3</sup>

Cynthia (Elizabeth) is deeply concerned at the fate of her worshipper (see the account of

<sup>1</sup> For this striking resemblance between Leicester's own description of his condition under the disfavor of the Queen and that given to him by Lyly, see Leicester's letter, note, p. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> See p. lxii.

<sup>3</sup> "TELLUS. You know that on the unary bank sleepeth Endymion.

"CORSITES. I know it.

"TELLUS. If you will remove him from that place by force, and convey him into some obscure cave by policy, I give you here the faith of an unspotted virgin that you only shall possess me as a lover." Pp. 62, 63.

It is, perhaps, worth notice here that on p. 75 Corsites, in describing to Cynthia his attempt to move Endymion from the unary bank, slips and, referring to it as a building, says that Tellus commanded him "to remove Endymion from this *cabin*, and carry him to some dark cave,"

Elizabeth's anger, p. xxxiv), though naturally, in the allegory, gratitude for faithful service, not jealousy, is the cause of the concern. She banishes from her presence Tellus, who spoke harshly of Endymion, committing her to the care of Corsites. He is to convey her to the castle in the desert, there "to remain and weave."<sup>1</sup> From the time of the announcement of the secret marriage, the Countess of Essex, who had been well known to the Queen,<sup>2</sup> was for years not permitted to appear at court.<sup>3</sup> Cynthia sends messengers to different parts of the world to find a remedy for Endymion. Eumenides only, his friend, succeeds in the quest.

By a fountain in Thessaly, which, from the description of it, may well be called the fountain of true and disinterested love, he meets the aged Geron, who tells him that whoever can weep into the well the tears of a faithful lover will so clear the troubled waters that he shall be able to see the bottom and to have anything for which he asks. When Eumenides weeps for his beloved Semele, he sees at the bottom of the well the words: "Ask one for all, and but

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<sup>1</sup> P. 41.

<sup>2</sup> She was "the first cousin once removed" of Elizabeth. Her father was vice-chamberlain and, later, treasurer of the household.—*Romance of Peerage*. Craik. Vol. II. pp. 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of the Ct. of Queen Elizabeth*. Aiken, London: 1826. p. 70 and 403.

one thing at all." He is then torn between his love for Semele and his friendship for Endymion. After a struggle friendship wins, and he asks for a cure for Endymion. Then he sees that the oracle on the marble pillar in the pool runs: "When she whose figure is of all the perfectest and never to be measured; always one, yet never the same; still inconstant, but never varying; shall come and kiss Endymion in his sleep, he shall then rise; else never." The meaning is obvious. This is the description not only of the moon, but also of Cynthia, and she must accomplish the miracle. To her Eumenides goes with his news.<sup>1</sup> What is this, however, but an elaborate allegorical version of the part of the Earl of Sussex in releasing Leicester from his confinement at Greenwich? The two men were not friends, but they were fellow-councillors, and the struggle of Eumenides between love and friendship is not unlike that which Sussex, who favored the marriage with the Duc d'Alençon, might be supposed to have had between his sense of justice and his desire to see a rival and opponent overcome. Eumenides goes to Cynthia as the only person capable of performing the miracle, just as Sussex, in behalf of Leicester, pleaded with the Queen, as the only person who could release the Earl.

Corsites, meantime, tempted by Tellus, with

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 52, 60.

whom he has fallen in love, has tried to remove Endymion from his lunar bank to some cave.<sup>1</sup> Some of the words of Tellus in her scene with Corsites are suggestive. She has set him "a task the gods themselves cannot perform," for only the Queen herself can release the Earl from his confinement. Corsites undertakes his task with fear, lest Cynthia discover their love and both perish; "for nothing pleaseth her but the fairness of virginity."<sup>2</sup> Certainly, that points directly to Queen Elizabeth, for Leicester, Hatton, Raleigh, and others all felt the Queen's displeasure because of their marriages.<sup>3</sup> Corsites, trying to raise Endymion, is caught by fairies and pinched until he falls asleep.

Forty years<sup>4</sup> are supposed to have elapsed between the time when Endymion falls asleep and the return of Eumenides with his news. Endymion (Leicester) is spoken of as "dead with life, and living, being altogether dead,"<sup>5</sup> even as we speak of prisoners to-day. Cynthia, hearing the oracle, kisses Endymion and wakes him—that is, forgives and releases him.<sup>6</sup> He then tells her what he saw in his dreams. Especially interesting is this dream, which suggests a warning against those in the court who favored the French marriage. "There, portrayed to life, with a cold quaking in every

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 70, 71.

<sup>2</sup> P. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Oberon's Vision, note d, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> P. 81.

<sup>5</sup> P. 75.

<sup>6</sup> P. 80.



joint, I beheld many wolves barking at thee, Cynthia; who having ground their teeth to bite, with striving bleed themselves to death. There might I see Ingratitude with an hundred eyes, gazing for benefits, and with a thousand teeth gnawing on the bowels wherein she was bred. Treachery stood all clothed in white, with a smiling countenance, but both her hands bathed in blood. Envy with a pale and meagre face . . . stood shooting at stars, whose darts fell down again on her own face. There might I behold drones or beetles—I know not how to term them—creeping under the wings of a princely eagle, who, being carried into her nest, sought there to suck that vein that would have killed the eagle. I mused that things so base should attempt a fact so barbarous, or durst imagine a thing so bloody.”<sup>1</sup>

Bagoa, a servant of Dipsas, betrays the guilt of Tellus,<sup>2</sup> and Cynthia sits in judgment on the culprits. Tellus admits that the passion of *Endymion* (Leicester) for Cynthia (the Queen) drove her to an “extreme hate.”<sup>3</sup> Endymion admits the truth of all of the story of Tellus except that he has loved her and sworn to honor her.<sup>4</sup> In other words, Endymion does just what Leicester must have done. He could not deny his relations with the Countess, but he could say that they did not mean any dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 84, 85.    <sup>2</sup> P. 93.    <sup>3</sup> P. 97.    <sup>4</sup> P. 100.

loyalty to the Queen. Endymion declares that he has "honored" Her Highness "above all the world ; but to stretch it so far as to call it love" he "never durst : none pleased" his "eye but Cynthia, none delighted" his "ears but Cynthia, none possessed" his "heart but Cynthia" ; he "has forsaken all other fortunes to follow Cynthia, and" stands "ready to die if it please Cynthia. Such a difference hath the gods set between" their "states, that all" (on his part) "must be duty, loyalty, and reverence ; nothing (without Your Highness vouchsafe it) be termed love." He will "spend" his "spirits" and to himself, "that no creature may hear it, softly call it love ; and if any urge to utter what" he "whispers, then will" he "name it honor."<sup>1</sup> What words more fitting for Leicester when eager to be restored to favor, or just in favor again ; what words more likely to please the vain Queen with her weakness for this unscrupulous courtier ? Cynthia (the Queen) permits Endymion's honorable respect to be christened love in him, and her reward for it, favor ; bids him persevere in loving her who has studied to win all, and to keep such as she has won ; and promises that if he continue as he has begun, he shall find that Cynthia shineth upon him not in vain. Endymion now finds his "youth renewed," his "joints strengthened," and his "mouldy hairs

moulted;"<sup>1</sup> that is, Leicester is completely restored to favor, is happy again. There is a striking similarity between this passage and one in the letter quoted in the note on page xlvi. In the latter Leicester says, referring to the Queen: "I have lost both youth, liberty, and all my fortune reposed in her."

Tellus, begging only to be still allowed to wish Endymion well, is given to Corsites; Eumenides gets Semele; Geron, Dipsas; and Sir Tophas, Bagoa.<sup>2</sup>

Certainly, then, there are striking resemblances between the play, *Endymion*, and incidents of the quarrel between the Earl of Leicester and the Queen in 1579, and the play, as a whole, reads like a graceful compliment to the Queen that at the same time is Leicester's version of his conduct. In considering these resemblances, it is noteworthy that the chief incident in the allegory, the long sleep of Endymion from which only the kiss of Cynthia can wake him, is just such a fancy as those with which the leading courtiers flattered the gullible Queen. "To feign a dangerous distemper arising from the influence of her charms was deemed an effectual passport to her favor; and when she appeared displeased,

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 101, 102.

<sup>2</sup> In this comparison of the play with the history of the quarrel of the Queen with Leicester, Mr. Halpin's comparison has been used as a basis, but subject to decided changes, *Oberon's Vision*, pp. 52-58.

the forlorn courtier took to his bed in a paroxysm of amorous despondency, and breathed out his tender melancholy in sighs and protestations. We find Leicester, and some other ministers, endeavoring to introduce one Dyer to her favour; and the means which they employed was, to persuade her that a consumption from which the young man had with difficulty recovered was brought on by the despair with which she had inspired him.<sup>1</sup> Essex, having on one occasion fallen under her displeasure, became exceedingly ill, and could be restored to health only by her sending him some broth, with kind wishes for his recovery. Raleigh, hearing of these attentions to his political rival, got sick in his turn, and received no benefit from any medicine till the same sovereign remedy was applied.”<sup>2</sup>

Nor do the facts that the allegory is not complete; that incidents not connected with the quarrel appear; that characteristics not those of the historical figures are given to their supposed representatives; spoil the argument from this similarity. This incomplete, or partial, allegory was a feature of the literature of Lyly's time. The words of Dean Church when writing of the allegory of *The Faery Queen* describe admirably Lyly's *Endymion*, *Sapho and Phao*, and

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<sup>1</sup> Letter of Gilbert Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Lodge's Portraits. LI. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Lives of Brit, Statesmen. J. Macdiamid. I. 292-93,

*Midas* : " A vein of what are manifestly contemporary allusions breaks across the moral drift of the allegory, with an apparently distinct yet obscured meaning, and one of which it is the work of dissertations to find the key. . . . And in Spenser's allegory we are not seldom at a loss to make out what and how much was really intended, amid a maze of overstrained analogies and over-subtle conceits, and attempts to hinder a too close and dangerous identification. Indeed Spenser's method of allegory, which was historical as well as usual, and contains a good deal of history, if we knew it, often seems devised to throw curious readers off the scent. It was purposely baffling and hazy. . . . The personage is introduced with some feature or amid circumstances which seem for a moment to fix the meaning. But when we look for the sequence of the story, we find ourselves thrown out. . . . The real in person, incident, institution, shades off into the ideal ; after showing itself by plain tokens, it turns aside out of its actual path of fact and ends, as the poet thinks it ought to end, in victory or defeat, glory or failure. . . . There is an intentioned dislocation of the parts of the story when they might make it imprudently close in its reflection of facts or resemblance in portraiture. A feature is shown, a manifest allusion made, and then the poet starts off in other directions, to confuse and perplex all attempts at interpretation, which might be too particular and too certain. This

was no doubt merely according to the fashion of the time, and the habits of mind into which the poet had grown. But there were often reasons for it, in an age so suspicious, and so dangerous to those who meddled with high matters of state."<sup>1</sup>

That there was some danger for Lyly in his work, the reference to "malicious enemies" in the epilogue of *Endymion*<sup>2</sup> shows; and that in consequence he was purposely "baffling and hazy" any careful student of the text of the play will see. A good specimen of Lyly's skilful management of his allegory so that it refers now to both the moon and the Queen, now to the moon only, now to the Queen only, is Endymion's description of his mistress:—

*End.* O, fair Cynthia, why do others term thee inconstant whom I have ever found immovable? Injurious time, corrupt manners, unkind men, who, finding a constancy not to be matched in my sweet mistress, have christened her with the name of wavering, waxing, and waning! Is she inconstant that keepeth a settled course; which, since her first creation, altereth not one minute in her moving? There is nothing thought more admirable or commendable in the sea than the ebbing and flowing; and shall the moon, from whom the sea taketh this virtue, be accounted fickle for increasing and decreasing?

<sup>1</sup> Spenser. Dean Church. Pp. 169-71.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 107-108.

Flowers in their buds are nothing worth till they be blown, nor are blossoms accounted till they be ripe fruit; and shall we then say they be changeable for that they grow from seeds to leaves, from leaves to buds, from buds to their perfection? Then, why be not twigs that become trees, children that become men, and mornings that grow to evenings, termed wavering, for that they continue not at one stay? Ay, but Cynthia, being in her fulness, decayeth, as not delighting in her greatest beauty, or withering when she should be most honored. When malice cannot object anything, folly will, making that a vice which is the greatest virtue. What thing, (my mistress excepted,) being in the pride of her beauty and latter minute of her age, that waxeth young again? Tell me, Eumenides, what is he that having a mistress of ripe years and infinite virtues, great honors and unspeakable beauty, but would wish that she might grow tender again, getting youth by years, and never-decaying beauty by time; whose fair face neither the summer's blaze can scorch, nor winter's blast chap, nor the numbering of years breed altering of colors? Such is my sweet Cynthia, whom time cannot touch because she is divine, nor will offend because she is delicate. O Cynthia, if thou shouldst always continue at thy fulness, both gods and men would conspire to ravish thee. But thou, to abate the pride of our affections, dost de-

tract from thy perfections, thinking it sufficient if once in a month we enjoy a glimpse of thy majesty ; and then, to increase our griefs, thou dost decrease thy gleams, coming out of thy royal robes, wherewith thou dazzlest our eyes, down into thy swathe-clouds, beguiling our eyes.”<sup>1</sup>

If any proof be needed that there is intentional confusion in Lyly's work, the epilogue of *Sapho and Phao* offers it. “They that tread in a maze, walk oftentimes in one path and at last come out where they entered in. We fear we have led you all this while in a labyrinth of conceits, divers times hearing one device, and have now brought you to an end where we first began. Which wearisome travail you must impute to the necessity of the history, as Theseus did his labor to the art of the labyrinth. There is nothing causeth such giddiness as going in a wheel ; neither can there anything breed such tediousness as hearing many words uttered in a small compass. But if you accept this dance of a fairy in a circle, we will hereafter at your wills frame our fingers to all forms, and so we wish every one of you a thread to lead you out of the doubts wherewith we leave you intangled, that nothing be mistaken by our rash oversights, nor misconstrued with your deep insights.”<sup>2</sup> In other words, the work of the allegory of the

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. 7-9.

<sup>2</sup> Lilly's Works. Fairholt. Vol. I. p. 214.



court poet of Elizabeth's day, Spenser, and of the court dramatist, Lyly, show markedly similar characteristics ; and both by incompleteness and confusion apparently seek to place on him who finds anything unfitting in their words a portion, at least, of the responsibility.

It would seem, then, that the prologue and the epilogue of *Endymion* hint strongly that the play is an allegory written with a purpose; that a reading of the play suggests many applications to incidents in the relations in 1579 of Leicester, the Countess of Essex, and the Queen ; that the principal incident is just such a fancy as had often been used effectively by discountenanced courtiers to regain the favor of the Queen ; and that the allegory itself seeks to confuse all but those best informed as to the private history of the court. In the play facts are "moulded with such art into a fable ; the offensive realities so smoothed down into agreeable possibilities ; the faults of the lover are so dexterously concealed, or 'discreetly cast into the shade' ; the claims of the humbler mistress so mystified, and the charms and virtues of the Sovereign Lady painted in such bright and glowing colors, that the representation (fully warranted by the fashion of the times) could not have failed of being most gratifying to the two great personages whom it was the poet's object to please."<sup>1</sup> In other words,

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<sup>1</sup> Oberon's Vision. Halpin. p. 59.

just as when a scandal appears in a family of wealth or power, sooner or later we hear or see printed an "authorized" version of the story, which makes the best of a bad case, so here, in *Endymion*, we seem to have a sixteenth-century "authorized" version of Lord Leicester's treatment of the Queen in his relations with the Countess of Essex. If this be true, it is easy now to see what were the "applications" by "malicious enemies" feared by the actors, and why they feared them. The possible applications have been pointed out in part, for doubtless others not now evident were apparent enough to the eyes of the courtiers; <sup>1</sup> the enemies were the party at court opposed to Lord Leicester and his friends; and there was special cause for fear because Leicester's opposition to the French marriage had caused great bitterness against him, and when the play was given, he was either still in disfavor, but skilfully petitioning for pardon, or but just restored to power and thanking the Queen for a clemency that might not be permanent.

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<sup>1</sup> The references Corsites and the Queen make to that officer's strength suggest that the courtiers must have recognized some well-known person in this figure. "Didst thou not, Corsites, before Cynthia, pull up a tree that forty years was fastened with roots and wreathed in knots to the ground? Didst thou not, with main force, pull open the iron gates which no ram or engine could move?" P. 71. See also p. 76.

Is there, however, any evidence that Leicester would have countenanced such a method of flattering the Queen; that Lyly would have been the man to do the work; that such means were especially likely to please the Queen? There is a favorable evidential answer to all of these questions.

We have seen that the breach between Leicester and the Queen lasted, with periods of less severity, from late July, 1579, until July, 1580.<sup>1</sup> That Leicester was much distressed by this disfavor and that he sought every means to free himself from it, the letter<sup>2</sup> written in November, 1579, and the following quotation show: "We have had sufficient Trial of my Lord's fortitude in Adversity; his base and abject behaviour in his last Disgrace about his Marriage, well declar-eth what he would do in a matter of more Importance. His favouring and flattering of them whom he hat[et]h most, his servile Speeches, he [his] feigned and dissembled Tears, are all very well known. . . . Then and in that Necessity, no Men of the Realm were so much honoured, commended and served by him, as the noble Chamberlain deceased,<sup>3</sup> and the good Lord Treasurer living; to whom at a certain time he wrote a Letter in all Fraud and false Dissimulation, and

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<sup>1</sup> See p. xxxiii.

<sup>2</sup> See note, pp. xlvii, xlviii.

<sup>3</sup> See treatment of Sussex as Eumenides in *Endymion*. Parsons published his book in 1584. Sussex died 1583.

caused the same to be delivered with great Cunning, in the sight of her Majesty, and yet so as it showed a Purpose that it should not be seen, to the end, her Highness might the rather take occasion to call for the same and read it, as she did : For Mrs. Frances Howard, to whom the Stratagem was committed, played her Part dexterously, offered to deliver the same to the Lord Treasurer, near the door of the Witch-drawing Chamber, he then coming from her Majesty; and to draw the Eye and Attention of Her Majesty the more unto it, she let fall the Paper before it touched the Lord Treasurer's Hands, by that occasion brought her Highness to call for the same." <sup>1</sup> This willingness of Leicester's to win back the Queen's favor by a trick, by a little comedy indeed, suggests that he would gladly have availed himself of a skilful play like *Endymion* to gain, or to maintain himself in, the royal favor.

Moreover, the courtiers, seem to have aided Leicester in every possible way ; they fairly pestered the Queen with their prayers for the re-establishing in favor of their master. "And if you will have an evident Demonstration of this man's power and favour in that place, call but to mind the times when Her Majesty, upon most just and urgent occasions, did withdraw

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Robert Dudley. Parsons. Vol. iv. pp. 19, 20.

but a little her wonted Favour and Countenance from him, did not all the Court as it were mutiny presently? Did not every Man hang the Lip? except but a few, who afterwards paid sweetly for their mirth; Were there not every Day new Devices sought out, that some should be on their Knees to her Majesty? Some should weep and put Finger in Eye; others should find out certain covert manner of Threatenings; other persons and perswasions of Love, other of profit, other of Honour, other of Necessity, and all to get him recalled back to favour again? And had her Majesty any Rest permitted unto her, until she had heard and granted the same?"<sup>1</sup> These quotations must make it pretty clear that *Endymion* (for certainly it may be called a "persuasion of love") was just such a means as Leicester, if anxious to win anew the favor of the Queen or to maintain himself in the royal favor but just restored to him, would have used for accomplishing his ends.

The special interest Lyly had in doing such allegorical work is at once apparent. If he aided the Earl in obtaining the desired ends, he might expect great rewards from him, even perhaps from the Queen, in her relief at being provided with a deft explanation of an awkward situation. That Leicester's servants did work

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Robert Dudley. Parsons. Vol. II. pp. 39, 40.

for just such rewards we have proof. "Every falling out must have an Attonement again, whereof he being sure, by the many and puissant Means of his Friends in Court, as I have before shewed, who shall not give her Majesty rest until it be done, than [then] for this Attonement, and in perfect Reconciliation on her Majesties part, she must grant my Lord some Suit or other, which he will always have ready provided for that purpose, and this Suit shall be well able to reward his Friends, that laboured for his reconciliation, and leave also a good remainder for himself, and that is now so ordinary a practise with him, as all the Realm observeth the same and disdaineth, that her Majesty should so unworthily be abused."<sup>1</sup>

That Lyly should have put his somewhat daring composition into the allegorical form was very natural. It was much affected by courtiers, and in it the Queen was often addressed by the poets and the writers of her time. It was a form to which Lyly, steeped as he was in classical similes and illustrations, would turn readily and naturally, for it was but maintaining the similes throughout a play. In it he could with the least chance of unpleasant results for himself and his friends treat somewhat dangerous matters. Most important of all, Elizabeth liked allegory for itself; to be able to penetrate its

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<sup>1</sup> *Idem.* Vol. III. pp. 17, 18.

veil pleased her vanity. Lord Burleigh, writing to Sir Robert Cecil in Dec. 1593, said: "The second poynt of your letter concerneth my former allegoricall letter written to you, in which I perceiue her Majestie discovered the literall sense thereof before the mydst of it seene. I must confesse that my cunning therein was not sufficient to hide the sense from her Majestie, although I thinke never a ladye besides her, nor a decipherer in the courte, would have dissolved the figure to have found the sense as her Majestie hath done. And where her Majestie alloweth of me, that I made myself merry, in very truthe I did it rather to make her some sport, (myself therein not altered, no otherwise then her Majesties lute is in her own hand, that maketh others merry, and continueth itself as it was)." <sup>1</sup>

We have seen, then, that Lyly probably knew Leicester and was connected with his interests before the summer of 1580; that Leicester, though with at least one period of reconciliation, was badly out of favor from late in July, 1579, to July, 1580; that during this time, aided by many of the courtiers and his friends in general, he left nothing undone to excuse his conduct and to win back the favor of the Queen; that *Endymion*, which constantly suggests analogies

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<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth and her Times. T. W. Wright. Vol. II. p. 428.

to the relations of Elizabeth and Leicester at the time of their quarrel, might well be described as a "new device" presenting "persons and persuasions of love," just what the courtiers presented to the Queen in Leicester's behalf; that in its main idea, the sleep of *Endymion*, it strongly resembles the devices by which Leicester in the case of Dyer, and Raleigh in his own time of disfavor, had won the sympathy of Elizabeth; that, as Burleigh's letter shows, the form was popular and comparatively safe, and suited to a well-known foible of the Queen. Certainly, after all this is carefully considered, there can be little doubt that *Endymion* is a genuine allegory treating the relations of Leicester, the Countess of Essex, and the Queen in 1579.

Even, however, among those who have accepted the idea that *Endymion* is an allegorical treatment of the quarrel of Leicester and the Queen, there is a difference of opinion as to the date of the composition of the play. For this reason, the editor, in the preceding pages, has deferred until this part of the Introduction any discussion of the question, suggested much earlier, whether *Endymion* was written to reinstate Leicester in favor or in celebration of his reinstatement. Evidently, if the reasoning of the preceding discussion as to the nature of the play be accepted, it points to a date between July, 1579, and not long after July, 1580, when the final reconciliation took place, as the time of the production of *Endymion*.



Early editors,<sup>1</sup> particularly those who did not know of, or who did not believe in, the idea of a political allegory in *Endymion*, are non-committal as to its original date of performance. Mr. Fleay,<sup>2</sup> who accepts fully the idea that the play is a political allegory treating the quarrel between Leicester and the Queen, seems to think that the first of February, 1588, is the date of its original production. This date he gets, apparently, by taking the statement of the title-page of the original edition that the play was given at Candlemas at Greenwich,<sup>3</sup> and looking for that date in the records of the court performances. But, in the first place, Candlemas Day should give him Feb. 2, not Feb. 1; and, in the second place, his own list of court performances in his *History of the Stage*,<sup>4</sup> does not provide him with a performance by the St. Paul's boys at Court on Feb. 2, 1588. The "Extract from the Accounts of the Revels at Court"<sup>5</sup> tells us that in 1588 the "Children of Poles" acted before the Queen at Greenwich, but how

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<sup>1</sup> Dilke speaks only (see vol. I. p. 200 of *Collection of Old English Plays*) of its date of publication, 1591.

Mr. Fairholt does not commit himself as to the exact date, but, following the order of publication, prints *Endymion* just after *Sappho* and *Phao*. Vol. I, p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Lilly's Works. Fairholt. vol I. p. xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. of Stage. Fleay. p. 76.

<sup>5</sup> Revels at Court. p. 198.

often, when, in what plays, by what authors, these are not told. Certainly, then, to assign *Endymion* to Feb. 2, 1588, is a pretty arbitrary proceeding.

That it is necessary or even possible to give so late a date as 1587-90 to the play seems, in the light of the evidence already produced and a few additional facts, hard to accept. Granted that the play is an allegory, why is it more probable that it was first produced seven or eight years after the quarrel between the Queen and Leicester was over, when the two, long friends again, had even quarrelled anew, but this time over matters in the Low Countries, not love affairs ;<sup>1</sup> when Sussex, to whom a graceful compliment is paid in *Eumenides* of the play, had been dead four or more years ;<sup>2</sup> when even Leicester himself was either near his end or dead ?<sup>3</sup> What reason could there be for the first production of the play at this time? On the other hand, look at the array of reasons that has been given for the production of just such a play in 1579-80 : a reason why Leicester should have been glad to have such a play given,—to state his version of a court scandal ; why Lyly should have been glad to write it at the time,—because

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<sup>1</sup> In 1586. Philip Sidney. H. R. Fox Bourne. pp. 324, 325.

<sup>2</sup> He died in June, 1583. Romance of the Peerage. G. Craik. Vol. I. p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> He died in 1588. Philip Sidney. Fox Bourne, p. 358,

it would greatly advance his interests with Leicester, and probably with the Queen; why it should have pleased the Queen,—because, while flattering her in the most fulsome way, it gave a very convenient interpretation of some awkward facts; why it should have deeply interested all the court,—because the quarrel was still one of the chief interests at court. Not one of these reasons holds good by 1587.

Moreover, that the play did not appear in print until 1591 means nothing as to the time of its composition. Any student of the Elizabethan drama knows that plays were jealously guarded by the companies of actors owning them, and usually went to press only when the disbanding of a company or a change in popular taste made the plays no longer useful to their owners. Therefore, a play printed in 1591 might perfectly well, if it had been popular, have been written years before and jealously guarded from the printer by the actors. Indeed, we know that only under just the two conditions named above, i.e., when the children's companies were not acting in public, or a change of taste rendered the plays of less interest, were any of Lyly's plays published.<sup>1</sup> The history of *Gallathea*, licensed April 1, 1585,<sup>2</sup> but held from the press when the St. Paul's boys were revived as a company, April 26, 1585,<sup>3</sup> and not published

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. cxxiii, cxxvi-cxxvii, cxlix-clii, clxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 38.      <sup>3</sup> See pp. cxxv.

until 1591, when the St. Paul's boys were again silent,<sup>1</sup> shows that *Endymion*, too, might perfectly well have been written before 1584, when Lyly first published some of his plays, and kept from the press, like *Gallathea*, because of the revival of the St. Paul's company in 1585, until the company was forbidden to act in its theatre in or near 1591.

When we add the fact that the plays of the first group sent to the printer,—*Alexander and Campaspe*, *Sapho and Phao*, and *Tityrus and Galatea* or *Gallathea*, which bridges the two periods 1579–1584 and 1585–1591,—have a very marked euphuism which *Midas* and *Mother Bombie*,<sup>2</sup> plays, as all critics admit, of the period from 1587–1591, have not, and that this euphuism is especially strong in *Endymion*, the evidence for an early date for the allegory gains strength. The evidence, then, that favors placing *Endymion* between 1579 and 1584, when Lyly first published some of his plays, is both internal and external, from style, contents, and analogy.

That Blount in his, the first collected edition

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. clvi–clxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. pp. 41–42. The date of *Love's Metamorphosis* has never been thoroughly settled. As a later discussion, pp. xcvi–xcviii, shows, it followed *Gallathea*, which it much resembles, and very probably belongs to the first period.

of Lyly's plays,<sup>1</sup> places them, with the exception of *Endymion*, in the order of their publication and in that which recent critical study of the external and internal evidence as to their dates of composition assigns to them,<sup>2</sup> but takes *Endymion* from its place in the order of publication and puts it first, suggests a still further limitation of the period for the composition of the play. Why, when he places all the rest correctly, did he place this first if it belongs later? This query gains force when we note that in writing *Endymion* Lyly's mind was full of the similes and expressions which he used in his two books of the *Euphues* and that he makes frequent use of them.<sup>3</sup> Any student of literature knows that such repetitions mean that the second composition was written before the mind of the author had entirely put aside the first, not when, as Mr. Fleay's theory would require, seven or

<sup>1</sup> He does not include *Love's Metamorphosis* and *The Woman in the Moon*.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xcvi and cxlix-clii.

<sup>3</sup> The fish of Cynthia referred to in *Endymion*, p. 24, is named and described p. 89, Arber. The Olympian wrestler of p. 26 is used similarly as an illustration in the dedication to Lord Oxenford, p. 216, Arber. The "Hares on Athos" of p. 57 appear on p. 76 of the first part of the *Euphues*. For the "Quod supra vos," etc., of p. 16 see p. 54, Arber.

The epilogue of *Endymion* is but a restatement of the story of the wind, the sun, and the man given at length in the *England*, Arber, p. 472.

eight years, 1579-1580 to 1587-88, must have lain between the two pieces of writing; not even when fresh work stood between the author and the *Euphues and his England*. The effect of these two considerations, the order in Blount and the resemblances between the *Euphues* and *Endymion*, is to connect the second part of the *Euphues* and *Endymion* closely.

What, then, are the narrowest limits within which all this evidence places the original production of *Endymion*? Certainly not earlier than the break with the Queen in late July, 1579, and the imprisonment of Leicester; and not long enough after the complete reconciliation in July, 1580, and the appearance of part two of the *Euphues* for new interests at the court to have made the scandal of little interest and for new work to have cleared Lyly's mind of the particular figures and similes which he had used in his two parts of the *Euphues*. By January, 1581, however, the quarrel with Leicester was an old story; the *Euphues and his England* had passed through a second edition;<sup>1</sup> and Lyly, as we shall see,<sup>2</sup> was probably busy with new plays. It will be seen at once that if we can decide whether the play was given to reinstate Leicester in power or as a thanksgiving for reinstatement, we can still further limit the time of the original production. If it was written to

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<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. p. 29.    <sup>2</sup> See p. xcvi.

restore Leicester to favor, certainly the play, with its references to the imprisonment, to the work of Sussex as intermediary, to the power of release of the Queen, would have been most appropriately given between the end of July, 1579, and the release, "a month or two"<sup>1</sup> after, of Leicester, and his temporary restoration to favor. Though he soon fell into disfavor once more, he was not again imprisoned, and hence, on the supposition that the play was a prayer for forgiveness and release, it could hardly have been given after the first restoration of Leicester to favor. If, on the other hand, we interpret the play as a gracefully arranged compliment to the Queen, thanking her for release and restoration to favor, what time would have been so fitting for the play as just after the first restoration of Leicester to favor? After he fell into disfavor again, he was not really restored to the Queen's good graces until July, 1580, and if the play was given after that date the references to the imprisonment, to the work of Sussex, in a word, to the events of August and September, 1579, would have been far less significant and effective. Whatever the interpretation given to the purpose of the play, then, it seems most likely that it was given between late July, 1579, and the second disgracing of Leicester, which, as Strype's words and Leicester's letter show, had occurred by November 12, 1579.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See p. xlviiii.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xlvi—xlix.

Study of the text of the play will probably convince a reader that it was written to thank the Queen for what she had done, not to suggest what she should do. It allegorizes what had taken place, not what should be done. The figure of Eumenides with its allegorical representation of the action of Sussex in itself settles the matter, for the whole significance of the figure rests in his release of *Endymion*, and there is no release unless the favor of Cynthia, Elizabeth, is supposed to have been won. All this means, of course, that the play was, from internal evidence, probably given between the first restoration of Leicester to favor and his second disgrace, which had taken place by November 12, 1579.

It seems possible to narrow even these limits a little. November 1, 1579, we find in the Revels' accounts this entry by Tylney, made Master of the Revels in the July preceding: 'Edmund Tylney esquier M<sup>r</sup> of the said Offyce . . . for his Attendaunce, botehyer and other chardges to and from the Court at Greenewiche by the space of ij monethes and more by Cōmaundem<sup>t</sup> for settinge downe of diuerse de-uises to Receave the Freenche."<sup>1</sup> When we remember that it was late in July before de Simier announced that the Prince would come to England early in August,<sup>2</sup> we see the quotation shows

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from Accounts of Revels at Court. *Old Shaks. So.*, p. 159. For date, see p. 103.

See note p. xxxiv.



that from late in July until late September or early October Tylney was busy at Greenwich with entertainments for the French visitors. During this time occurred the imprisonment, and, since the imprisonment lasted only "a month or two," the release and temporary restoration to favor, of Leicester. Indeed, we find that on Oct. 2, 1579, Leicester was debating the marriage question as one of the chief councillors, and on Oct. 6 completely shifted his position, and said that "councillors may change their opinions on good cause, and Her Majesty was to be followed."<sup>1</sup> These facts show that by Oct. 1 he was again in favor, and hint the cause of his change of opinion. The time of this short reconciliation, from before Oct. 2 to a date before Nov. 12, would, as has been shown, be the most fitting for the production of *Endymion*. What better time for a deft statement of the way in which the quarrel of the great favorite and the Queen should be spoken of than when Leicester, just restored to favor, was expected, as Stype states,<sup>2</sup> to move freely and amicably among the French, and to work for the marriage to the Duc d'Anjou, opposition to which had originally caused his downfall? Was not some such statement much needed at the moment, some such authorized version, in this complete change in Leicester's position? If, too, from late July till

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<sup>1</sup> State Papers. Murdin. Vol. II. pp. 334, 335.

<sup>2</sup> See p. xlix.

early October Tylney was managing at Greenwich entertainments for the French, is it not probable that one of them was this *Endymion*? If it was given, under Tylney's supervision, before the Queen and the French guests, when Leicester, but just restored to favor and requested to aid in arranging the marriage he had steadily opposed, was watched suspiciously by the French party, the reader sees why the prologue of *Endymion* is so cautious,<sup>1</sup> why the epilogue refers to "malicious enemies," and—because the story has at any rate been heard—has the ring of triumph in it.<sup>2</sup> All this means, then, that there is evidence which strongly favors placing the original production of *Endymion* not only between late July, 1579, and November 12, 1579, but also—since the imprisonment lasted "a month or two" after late July and Tylney finished his work in early October—in the month of September, or very early in October, 1579.

It will be seen that this date accords well with what has been pointed out as to other events in Lyly's career. It means that *Endymion*, with its figures and similes that are the same as figures and similes in both parts of the *Euphues*,<sup>3</sup> was first acted after the publication of the *Anatomie of Wit* and before the publication of the *England*,

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 108, 109.

<sup>3</sup> See p. lxxix, note 3.

but when all of the *England*, except possibly the *Glasse for Europe*, had been written for some months. In other words, it stands just where from these similarities we expected it to stand, in close connection with the two books, with no other publication between it and them, for royal disfavor for Lyly's friends stood between the *Anatomie* and it on one side and the *England* and it on the other.<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed, too, that the phrasing of the Queen's recommendation to Lyly to try for the Mastership of the Revels, which was tentatively assigned to the summer of 1580,<sup>2</sup> suggested some preceding dramatic work by Lyly, and this assignment of *Endymion* to September, 1579, provides such work. That the play, if successful in September, 1579, did not at once improve the fortunes of Lyly and lead him to print the second part of the *Euphues* is easily explained, for very shortly after the play was given Leicester was again out of favor, and the reasons that checked the progress of Lyly in July, 1579, but held more strongly against him when more than ever he must have been associated in the Queen's mind with the refractory Earl. Until Leicester was again in favor, in July, 1580, Lyly could hardly have expected from the Queen any recognition of his services, and would hardly have ventured to put forth his *Euphues and his England*.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. xxxiii *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xxxviii, xxxix.

Just here a reader may object that September, 1579, ill accords with the dates for court performances given on the title-pages of early editions of *Endymion*. The first edition has on its title-page: "Play'd before the Queene's Majestie at Greenwich on Candlemas day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules"—that is, February second.<sup>1</sup> Blount's reprint of the play bears the same statement except that Candlemas Day becomes "New Yeeres Day."<sup>2</sup> The fact, however, that these dates do not accord with the evidence produced is of little importance. In the first place, any student of the Elizabethan drama knows that the date on the title-page of a play by no means necessarily means the time of its first performance; it may mean the date of a revival, or the time at which the MS. which served as "copy" was used. Apparently the printer of the original edition and Blount used different MSS. as "copy," for we have the two dates, "Candlemas Day" and "New Yeeres Day." What proof is there that the original edition was printed from an earlier MS. than the other or from the original MS.? Why have we more right to fasten on one of these dates rather than the other as the time, not of a revival—though evidently the play was given twice, at least—but of the original production? Moreover, when we try to fit these

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<sup>1</sup> Lilly's Works. Fairholt. Vol. I. p. xxvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. I.

days to a year and to place the play in the Revels' accounts, we meet with nothing strongly opposing September, 1579, as the date of the original production. A student naturally thinks of Jan. 1, 1580, or Feb. 2, 1580, as a possible date that would accord with the title-pages and with much of the argument developed in this Introduction, but examination of the Revels' accounts shows that on Jan. 1, 1580, the Earl of Warwick's Servants gave "A History of the foure sonnes of Fabyous"; that on Feb. 2, 1580, the Lord Chamberlain's Servants gave "The history of Portio and Demorantes"; and that both performances took place, not at Greenwich, but at Whitehall.<sup>1</sup> Nor can any performance by the St. Paul's boys at court that may be assigned to Candlemas Day or New Year's Day be found in the records from 1580 to 1588.<sup>2</sup> Even in 1588 we read only that between Christmas and Shrovetide several companies gave plays before the Queen at Greenwich, but not which company acted on each feast-day. Not until 1590 is Jan. 1 distinctly given as a date for a performance at court by the St. Paul's boys.<sup>3</sup> Then we are not given the name of the play or of the author. Why 1588-90 is too late a date

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<sup>1</sup> Extracts from Accounts of Revels at Court. *Old Shaks. So.* pp. 154, 155.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem, passim*; and also pp. 28-31 and 76, *Hist. of Stage. Fleay.*

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Stage. Fleay.* p. 77.

for the original production of *Endymion* has already been shown.<sup>1</sup> It seems, therefore, more probable that both these dates, "Candlemas Day" and "New Yeeres Day," refer to late revivals of the play rather than to the original performance; and they do not stand in the way of September, 1579, as the date for the original production of *Endymion*.<sup>2</sup>

There is certainly another possible objection to placing the first performance of *Endymion* in September, 1579, slight though it is. In the dedication of the *England* to Lord Oxenford, Lyly says, "I have brought into the worlde two children,"<sup>3</sup> and it may be held that this excludes the possibility of a production of *Endymion* before the second *Euphues* appeared. The objection is not, however, very convincing, for Lyly is evidently preparing here for the antithesis that is to follow immediately between part one and part two of the *Euphues*,<sup>4</sup> and he would not have been

<sup>1</sup> See p. lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Since the Revels' Accounts never mention the name of Lyly or any of his plays, they can be of little value, unless corroborated by internal evidence in the plays or other external evidence, in settling the date of the original production of any of Lyly's comedies. See p. lxxv.

<sup>3</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. p. 214.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*. "I have brought into the worlde two children, of the first I was delivered, before my friendes thought mee conceived, of the second I went a whole yeare big, and yet when everye one thought mee ready to lye downe, I did then quicken."

Lyly had he lost it for the mere accuracy that would require mention of a play as yet unprinted. Indeed, since *Endymion* had not been printed, he could in a sense strictly say, "I have brought into the worlde two children." Add to this the possibility that even the dedication of the book may antedate *Endymion*, may have been ready when the *England* was first entered for publication, and simply delayed with the rest of the volume. We then see that when so many interpretations favorable to the September date are as plausible as the one that is unfavorable, that cannot greatly weaken the force of the cumulative evidence of the preceding pages in favor of the idea that *Endymion* lies between the publication of the first and the second part of the *Euphues*; that it was written in support of Leicester, whose quarrel with the Queen delayed the appearance of the second part of *Euphues*; that, probably, it was given originally in late September or early October, 1579, at Greenwich, and revived years afterwards both on Candlemas Day and New Year's Day at the same place.

The ideas developed in the preceding pages, if accepted even tentatively, will be seen at once to fit in well, as has been said,<sup>1</sup> with what we know of Lyly. They account at least as well as the old theory for the delay of the second part of the *Euphues* for almost a year;

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<sup>1</sup> See p. xxxiii.

give Lyly a strong reason for wishing to reinstate Leicester in favor, for writing *Endymion*; offer a date for *Endymion* that fits the allegory in it; show that, naturally, if new difficulties followed the reconciliation of September, Lyly would still delay the *Euphues and his England* until all possibility of disfavor was past, until the summer of 1580; and show, too, why, when the Queen "entertained" him as her servant, she "strengthened" this "with condicions, that I should ayme all my course at the Revels,"<sup>1</sup>—because he had written a clever play that helped to relieve her from an embarrassing position. Was not the time when the royal favor finally came back to Leicester and his friends just the moment for Lyly to put forth his long-delayed work? Would it not, too, have been very natural for him, remembering how successfully he had flattered the Queen in *Endymion*, to add to his new book the similar flattery of the *Glasse for Europe*,—which, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> internal evidence in the *Euphues and his England* suggests may be an addition to the text as it originally stood? That the publication of the *England* preceded the recommendation of the Queen to try for the Mastership of the Revels the following suggests. Had the Queen shown Lyly any marked favor, "en-

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<sup>1</sup> See p. clvi, for Lyly's first begging letter to the Queen.

<sup>2</sup> See p. xxx,



tertaind" him as her "servant" before the second part of the *Euphues* appeared, Lyly would have been likely in the *Glasse* to refer to her favor,—he carefully acknowledges the kindness shown him by Lord Burleigh. This would be true whether the *Glasse* were first written in 1579 or just before the publication of the *Euphues and his England*, in the summer of 1580; for if it dated back to the former year, we know that a hasty revision was made<sup>1</sup> to bring the book up to date, and it would have been very simple and very wise to slip in a few words of thanks to the Queen. It seems most probable, then, that when Elizabeth and Leicester were at last completely reconciled and Lyly had published his *England*, the Queen, willing to extend her favor to Leicester's followers,<sup>2</sup> was especially gracious to that one who had done much to help her and her favorite out of an awkward position and had just praised her publicly as even she was rarely praised. She "entertaind" him as her "servant," and, recalling his success with *Endymion*, advised him to try for the Mastership of the Revels. It will be seen later<sup>3</sup> that the summer or fall of 1580 as the date of this advice accords well with the date that best fits the

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> See Parsons' words as to Leicester's method of rewarding his friends through the bounty of the Queen, p. lxxii..

<sup>3</sup> See pp. clix-clxvi.

letter in which this advice is spoken of as ten years old.

It will be seen, then, that by 1581, Lyly, probably one of Lord Leicester's party, was well established at court. His *Anatomic of Wit* and his *Euphues and his England* had each passed through more than one edition,<sup>1</sup> and had made him a prominent figure. By his *Endymion* he had put forward claims as a dramatist, and these had been recognized by the Queen in her recommendation, when she entertained him as her servant, probably in 1580, that he should try for the Mastership of the Revels. In brief, then, as courtier, novelist, and dramatist, Lyly was, apparently, well launched in his career by January, 1581.

The words "enterteyned yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ts</sup> S'vant" certainly suggest that Lyly was given some position in the Queen's service. Possibly, even thus early he was made Vice-Master of the St. Paul's choristers, a position that in 1589 he had, apparently, been holding for some time. Gabriel Harvey in the second part of *Pierce's Supererogation*, written in 1589, but not printed until 1593,<sup>2</sup> said of Lyly: "He hath not played the

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<sup>1</sup> See under *Texts* in Bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Though *Pierce's Supererogation* was not printed until 1593, the portion of it referring to Lyly is dated Nov. 5, 1589 (see vol. II. p. 221, Grosart's *Harvey*; and vol. III. pp. 184, 185 of his *Nash*). *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*, which was the cause of Harvey's wrath against Lyly, and is

Vicemaster of Poules, and the Foolemaster of the Theater for naughtes ; himselfe a mad lad, as ever twanged, never troubled with any substance of witt, or circumstance of honestie, sometime the fiddle-sticke of Oxford, now the very bable of London."<sup>1</sup> The title-pages of Lyly's plays tell us that all of them, except *The Woman in the Moone*, the actors in which are not named, were given by the St. Paul's boys; and the prompt cessation of the publication of Lyly's plays when the St. Paul's boys were revived as a company in 1585,<sup>2</sup> suggests a close connection between the dramatist and the company. When, however, a student turns to the records of St. Paul's Cathedral for corroborative evidence, he meets with the same result which consultation of the accounts of the revels at court gave him,—he does not find any mention of Lyly.<sup>3</sup>

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constantly referred to in the second part of the *Supererogation*, was published in September, 1589. See p. cxxxvi *seq.*

<sup>1</sup> Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. cxxiv-cxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> In regard to this matter the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, Librarian of St. Paul's Cathedral, writes to the editor: "I see no reason why Lily should not have been Gyles' [Thomas] assistant, or vice-master, but I am not able to adduce any evidence on the point. Mr. Maxwell Lyle has carefully calendered our Cathedral Records, but the name of Lily does not occur in his copious Index. He would have been fully alive to the importance of the name had he met with it in his researches."

Yet, since we know that the man whose name is never mentioned in the Revels' accounts often gave his plays at court, this failure to find Lyly's name on the St. Paul's records hardly rules out the indirect testimony of Harvey.

By 1584, when Lyly began to publish his plays, he had written at least four. It has been shown that the date of *Endymion* is, probably, late September or early October, 1579; in 1584 *Alexander and Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao* were printed; on April 1, 1585, *Tityrus and Galatea* was licensed.<sup>1</sup> According to the original title-pages<sup>2</sup> the second and third plays were given before the Queen by the Children of the Chapel and the Children of Paul's, apparently united for the performances. Even *Endymion* may have been given originally by the two companies, for the title-pages stating that the play was given by the Paul's boys on Candlemas Day and New Year's Day have been shown to refer, probably, to revivals of the play.<sup>3</sup> Whether

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The first and third editions of *Alexander and Campaspe* bear the statement: "Played before the Queen's Majesty on Twelfth Day at Night, by Her Majesty's Children and the Children of Paul's." The second edition simply changes the date to New Year's Day, at night. The title-page of the first edition of *Sapho and Phao* reads: "Played before the Queen's Majesty, on Shrove Tuesday, by Her Majesty's Children and the Children of Paul's." Fairholt. Vol. II pp. xxvi, xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. lxxxvi-lxxxviii.

*Tityrus and Galatea* had been acted has been doubted. As has been said,<sup>1</sup> there is nothing in *Alexander and Campaspe* to aid us decidedly in dating its original production; the internal evidence of *Sapho and Phao* shows that the play must have appeared not long after "Monsieur's" irate departure from England, Feb. 6, 1582; and the text of *Gallathea* in the main plot shows that this play followed *Sapho and Phao* closely.

There is, too, a reference to *Gallathea* in a fifth play, *Love's Metamorphosis*.<sup>2</sup> This is very similar to *Gallathea*, and is neither an allegory on political matters, as are *Endymion*, *Sapho and Phao*, and *Midas*, nor a comedy on the Terentian

<sup>1</sup> See pp. xxxix-xl. Attempts (see Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. pp 39-42) to place in the "Accounts of the Revels at the Court" the original performances of these plays of Lyly's seem pretty hopeless, for, as has been pointed out (pp. lxxxvi-lxxxviii), first of all, we are not sure that the title-pages give us the date of the first performance at court, and, in the second place, in the records neither the name of Lyly nor that of one of his plays is mentioned. Why Mr. Fleay's date for the original performance of *Endymion* cannot be accepted has been shown at length; why his dates for *Gallathea* and *Love's Metamorphosis* cannot be accepted will be seen in a moment in the text; to place *Alexander and Campaspe* he is forced to make "New Year's Day at night" mean New Year's eve. His date that most commends itself is Feb. 27 (Shrove Tuesday), 1582, for *Sapho and Phao*, but even that entry is for the Chapel Children only, in an unnamed play by an unnamed author.

<sup>2</sup> See Faitholt's Lilly. Vol. II. p. 226.

model, like *Mother Bombie*, but a tale of gods and goddesses which now and then complements the Queen or mirrors her qualities. For these references to be significant, *Love's Metamorphosis* must have followed, or have been intended to follow, *Gallathea* closely. Yet *Tityrus and Galatea*, licensed in 1585, was not published until 1592<sup>1</sup>; the play contains references to the *annus mirabilis*, 1588,<sup>2</sup> which, spoken in 1582-83, at least four years before the prophecies in regard to 1588 were filling the minds of the common people,<sup>3</sup> would have had no significance; and *Love's Metamorphosis* did not appear in print until 1601.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Fleay's suggestion that *Gallathea*, though written before 1584, was revised later,<sup>5</sup> gives the clue to a means of reconciling the apparently conflicting evidence.

If a student reads *Gallathea* carefully, he will see that the play divides into two parts,—the

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> "ASTRONOMER [to Raffe, the page]: "I can tell thee what weather shall be between this and *octogessimus octavus mirabilis annus*." Act III. Sc. 3.

RAFFE. "He [the astronomer] told me a long tale of octogessimus octavus, and the meeting of the conjunctions and planets." Act V. Sc. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 41. The prophecies were current in 1587. See T. Tymme's *A New Year's Gift*.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*. p. 41.

story of *Gallathea* and her nymphs ; and the doings of the pages and their masters. Until the last page of the play is reached there is no attempt to unite the plots, and then the union is managed in a very rough and inartistic way. Only in the comic sub-plot is there any reference to the year, 1588 ; only in this part of the play is Lincolnshire named.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the confusion that resulted when gods and goddesses seemed to disport themselves in Lincolnshire, and a play, supposedly written in 1582 or 1583, made references to matters that did not interest the public at so early a date, disappears when we see that the internal evidence of the play supports the idea that the main plot—of *Gallathea* and her nymphs—belongs before 1584 ; was licensed, whether with or without a sub-plot we do not know, April 1, 1585 ; was withheld from the press when the St. Paul's boys were at the end of the month<sup>2</sup> again allowed to act ; and was prepared for a performance shortly before 1588 by the addition of a sub-plot which referred to matters of interest at the moment. If, now, the main plot of *Gallathea* was written before 1584,—when Lyly first published some of his plays,—and if *Love's Metamorphosis* makes cross-references to this main plot of *Gallathea*, we face an alternative. Either the main plot of

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 226, 248, and 262. Lilly's Works. Fairholt.

<sup>2</sup> See p. cxxv.

*Gallathea* was acted before 1584, and *Love's Metamorphosis*, if not acted, was at any rate written; or when *Gallathea* was given with its new sub-plot, 1585-90, *Love's Metamorphosis* immediately followed it, and the cross-reference was significant. But when we find three plays in which Cupid is an important figure referring to one another—*Gallathea* to *Sapho and Phao*; *Love's Metamorphosis* to *Gallathea*,—do we not usually believe that we are considering a series in which each play closely followed that to which it refers? For this reason, there is probability in the idea that *Sapho and Phao*, *Gallathea*, and *Love's Metamorphosis*, were all written before 1584, and all, except perhaps the last, had surely been acted. The result of this examination is, then, to place the time of composition of five plays—*Endymion*, *Alexander and Campaspe*, *Sapho and Phao*, *Gallathea*, and *Love's Metamorphosis*—apparently before 1584.

During this period from 1580-1584, we get glimpses of Lyly apart from his dramatic work. If, as Harvey complained,<sup>1</sup> Lyly, early in his career, in 1580, did mix in just such a court intrigue, in regard to the *Mirroure of Tuscanismo*, as those of which later he speaks scornfully in his plays, it is not surprising. The young man of twenty-seven must, after the successful publication of the second part of the *Euphues* and the

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.



favor shown him by the Queen, have been recognized as one of the most brilliant of the young writers of his day, and may quite naturally have lost his head for the moment. According to his contemporaries Lyly was a small man,<sup>1</sup> a great consumer of tobacco,<sup>2</sup> and very witty.<sup>3</sup> At about

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<sup>1</sup>“*He that hath threatned to conjure up Martin’s wit, hath written some thing too, in your praise, in Paphatchet: for all you accuse him to have courtlie incenst the Earle of Oxford against you. Marke him well: hee is but a little fellow, but hee hath one of the best wits in England. Should he take thee in hand againe (as he flieth from such inferiour concertation), I prophecie that there woulde more gentle Readers die of a merrie mortality, ingendred by the eternall iests he would maule thee with, than there have done of this last infection. I my self, that injoy but a mite of wit in comparison of his talēt, in pure affection to my native country, make my stile carry a presse saile, am fain to cut off half the streame of thy sport-breeding confusion, for feare it shoulde cause a generall hicket throughout England.*”—Nash’s Works: *Strange News of the Intercepting of Certaine Letters.* (1593.) Grosart. Vol. II. p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> For Master *Lillie* (who is halves with me in this indignitie that is offred) I will not take the tale out of his mouth, for he is better able to defend himselfe than I am able to say he is able to defend himselfe, and in as much time as hee spendes in taking *Tobacco* one weeke, he can compile that which would make *Gabriell* repent himselfe all his life after. With a black sant he meanes shortly to bee at his chamber window, for calling him the *Fiddlesticke of Oxford.* Nash’s Works: *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (1596). Grosart. Vol. III. p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1. Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, speaks of “eloquent and wittie John Lyly”; and

this time (1580) he was apparently living in or frequenting the Savoy region, for in *Pierce's Supererogation* (1589) Harvey says: "Pap-hatchet, for the name of thy good nature is pittifully growen out of request, and thy olde acquaintance in the Savoy when young Euphues hatched the egges, that his elder freendes laide, (surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow: would God, Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, and never Pap hatchet;) that old acquaintance, now somewhat straungely saluted with a new remembrance, is neither lullabied with thy sweet Papp, nor scarrecrowed with thy sower hatchet."<sup>1</sup>

It is pretty safe to assume that so prominent a figure in the literary world from 1580-1590 knew in the Savoy and elsewhere practically all of the writers of the day, and that the Queen's dramatist knew pretty nearly every one of importance at court. Robert Greene he evidently knew well.<sup>2</sup> Nash, who came up to London from Cambridge in 1588,<sup>3</sup> seems in his early literary life to have looked to Lyly as a kind of mentor.<sup>4</sup> Knowing these two men well, Lyly probably knew the

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Harvey even in his anger grants him wit. See Harvey's Works, vol. II. pp. 124, 125, 212, 213.

<sup>1</sup> Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. II. pp. 124, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Harvey says that Lyly induced Greene to write against him; and Nash speaks of Greene as if he was regularly one of the group interested in that quarrel. See p. cxli.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr.. vol. II. p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> See p. xcix. notes 1 and 2.

others whose names are most associated with them, Lodge, Peele, and Marlowe. Elderton and Tarleton Lyly probably knew.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Watson, author of the *Passionate Centurie of Love*, was evidently one of his group of friends.<sup>2</sup> Lyly's relations with the Harveys have already been referred to, and will be taken up more in detail later.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Andrews, afterwards Archbishop Andrews, is mentioned by Nash as a man whom Lyly deeply admired.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pappewit-an Hatchet. Saintsbury. p. 52. Nash's Works. Vol. II. p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> See the letter quoted on the next page and the following mention of Watson, who died in 1592, by Nash in *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*, 1596. "To a bead-roll of learned men and Lords hee appeales, *whether he be an asse or no*, in the forefront of whom he puts M. Thomas Watson, the poet. A man he was that I dearely lov'd and honor'd, and for all things hath left few his equalls in *England*: he it was that, in the company of divers Gentlemen one night at supper at the Nags head in *Cheape*; first told me of his vanitie, and those Hexameters made of him.

"But o what newes of that good Gabriell Harvey, Knowne to the world for a foole and clapt in the Fleet for a Rimer."

—Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. III. p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. cxxxix-cxlv.

<sup>4</sup> "Here some little digression I must borrow, to revenge his base allusion of Sir Thomas Baskeruille, even as I have done of Doctor Androwes; neither of them being men that ever saluted mee, or I rest bound unto in anie thing, otherwise than by Doctor Androwes own desert, and Master Lillies immoderate commending

That by 1582 Lyly's name carried weight, his friend Thomas Watson testified by prefixing to his *Passionate Centurie of Love* this letter of the dramatist :

*“ John Lyly to the Authour his Friend.*

“ My good friend, I have read your new passions, and they have renewed mine old pleasures, the which brought to me no lesse delight, than they have done to your selfe commendations. And certes had not one of mine eies about serious affaires beene watchfull, both by being too too busie had beene wanton: such is the nature of persuading pleasure, that it melteth the marrow before it scorch the skin, and burneth before it warmeth: Not unlike unto the oyle of Ieat, which rotteth the bone and never ranckleth the flesh, or the Scarab flies, which enter into the roote and never touch the rinde.

“ And whereas you desire to have my opinion, you may imagine my stomake is rather cloyed then quesie, and therefore mine appetite of lesse force then mine affection, fearing rather a surfet of sweetness, then desiring a satisfying. The repeating of Love, wrought in me a remem-

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him, by little and little I was drawne on to bee an auditor of his: since when, whensoever I heard him, I thought it was but hard and scant allowance that was given him, in comparison of the incomparable gifts that were in him.” Nash's Works. *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* (1536). Grosart. Vol. III. p. 159.

brance of liking, but serching the very vaines of my hearte, I could find nothing but a broad scarre, where I left a deepe wounde ; and loose stringes, where I tyed hard knots : and a table of steele, where I framed a plot of wax.

“Whereby I noted that young swannes are grey, and the old white, young trees tender, and the old tough, young men amorous, and growing in yeeres, either wiser or warier. The Corall in the water is a soft weede, on the lande a hard stone· a sword frieth in the fire like a black ele, but layd in earth like white snowe; the heart in love is altogether passionate, but free from desire, altogether carelesse.

“But it is not my intent to inveigh against love, which women account but a bare word, and that men reverence as the best God: onely this I would add without offence to Gentlewomen, that were not men more superstitious in their praises, then women are constant in their passions: Love would either shortly be worne out of use, or men out of love, or women out of lightnes. I can condemne none but by coniecture, nor commend any but by lying, yet suspicion is as free as thought, and as farre as I see as necessary, as credulitie.

“Touching your Mistres I must needes thinke well, seeing you have written so well, but as false glasses shewe the fairest faces, so fine gloses amend the baddest fancies. Apelles painted the Phenix by hearesay not by sight, and Lysip-

pus engraved Vulcan with a streight legge, whome nature framed with a poult foote, which prooveth men to be of greater affection than iudgement. But in that so aptly you have varied upon women, I will not vary from you, for confesse I must, and if I should not, yet mought I be compelled, that to Love were the sweetest thing in the earth: If women were the faithfullest, and that women would be more constant if men were more wise. And seeing you have used me so friendly, as to make me acquainted with your passions, I will shortly make you pryvie to mine, which I woulde be loth the printer shoulde see, for that my fancies being never so crooked he would put them in streight lines, unfit for my humor, necessarie for his art, who setteth downe, blinde, in as many letters as seeing. Farewell."

If Lyly really wrote verses in honor of some lady-love, as he seems to hint, either, though this seems unlikely, his aversion for the typesetter kept him from printing them, or, as is far more probable, if they were printed, they have been lost. Just what was the "serious business" which interested Lyly we cannot now determine. Perhaps it was his work for the companies of children; perhaps his duties in the position to which the following letter, written in July, 1582, has reference:—

"My duetie (right honorable) in most humble manner remembred.

"It hath plesed my Lord upon what colour

I cannot tell, certaine I am upon no cause, to be displeas'd w<sup>t</sup> me, y<sup>e</sup> grief wherof is more then the losse can be. But seeing I am to live in y<sup>e</sup> world, I must also be judged by the world, for that an honest servaunt must be such as Cæsar wold have his wif, not only free from synne, but from suspicion. And for that I wish nothing more then to commit all my waies to yo<sup>r</sup> wisdome, and the devises of others to yo<sup>r</sup> judgement, I heere yeld both my self and my soule, the one to be tried by yo<sup>r</sup> honnor, the other by the justic of God, and I doubt not but my dealings being sifted, the world shall find whit meale, wher others thought to shew cours branne. It may be manie things wil be objected, but y<sup>t</sup> any thing can be proved I doubt, I know yo<sup>r</sup> L. will soone smell devises from simplicity, trueth from trecherie, factions from iust servic. And God is my witnes, before whome I speak, and before whome for my speach I shall answer, y<sup>t</sup> all my thoughtes concerning my L. have byne ever reverent, and almost relligious. How I have dealt God knoweth and my Lady can coniecture, so faithfullie, as I am as unspotted for dishonestie as a suckling from theft. This conscinc of myne maketh me presume to stand to all trialls, ether of accomptes, or counsell, in the one I never used falshood, nor in the other dissembling. My most humble suit therefore unto yo<sup>r</sup> L is y<sup>t</sup> my accusations be not smothered and I choaked in y<sup>e</sup> smoak, but that they maie

be tried in y<sup>e</sup> fire, and I will stand to the heat. And my only comfort is, y<sup>t</sup> he y<sup>t</sup> is wis shall judg trueth, whos nakednes shall manifest her noblenes. But I will not troble yo<sup>r</sup> honorable eares w<sup>t</sup> meinie idle wordes only this upon my knees I ask, y<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> L will voursalf to talk w<sup>t</sup> me, and in all things will I shew my self so honest, y<sup>t</sup> my disgrac shall bring to yo<sup>r</sup> L. as great mervell, as it hath done to me grief, and so thoroughly will I satisfie everie obiection, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>r</sup> L shall think me faithfull, though infortunat. That yo<sup>r</sup> honnor rest p'suaded of myne honest mynd and my Lady of my true servic, that all things may be tried to y<sup>e</sup> uttermost, is my desire, and the only reward I crave for my just (I iust I dare tearme it) servic. And thus in all humility submitting my Caus to yo<sup>r</sup> wisdome and my Conscinc to y<sup>e</sup> triall. I commit to yo<sup>r</sup> L to the Almightye.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> L most dutifullie to commaund,

“JOHN LYLY.

“for y<sup>t</sup> I am for some few daies going into the countrie, yf yo<sup>r</sup> L be not at leasure to admitt me to yo<sup>r</sup> speach, at my returne I will give my most dutifull attendaunc at w<sup>ch</sup> time it may be my honesty may ioyne w<sup>t</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> L. wisdome and both prevent that nether wold allow. In the meane season what colo<sup>r</sup> soever be alledged, if I be not honest to my L. and so meane to bee during his plesure, I desire but yo<sup>r</sup> L. secret opinion, for as



[I know] my L. to be most honorable, so I besech God in time he be not abused. loth I am to be a prophett, and to be a wiche I loath

“most dutifull to comand

“JOHN LYLY.”<sup>1</sup>

“To y<sup>e</sup> right honorable y<sup>e</sup> L. Burleigh, L. High Treasurer of England.”

Of this letter two interpretations may be given. Mr. Fleay, holding that “my Lady” refers to the Queen and not to Lady Burleigh, thinks that *Sapho and Phao*, acted probably in Feb. 1582, had given offence to the Queen and so to Burleigh; that the acting of the Children of Paul’s had been inhibited forthwith; and that this trouble was the cause of the letter.<sup>2</sup> Certainly these are large deductions from slight premises. On its face the letter seems to mean that Lyly, holding some position in the household of Lord Burleigh (“an honest servaunt must be such”), had been maligned with some success,—had been evidently accused, not merely of disrespect (“all my thoughtes concerning my L. have byne ever reverent, and almost religious”), but also of dishonesty (“This conscinc of myne maketh me presume to stand to all trialls, ether of accomptes, or counsell, in the one I never used falsehood, nor in the other dissembling”). Apparently

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<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne Ms. xxxvi., Art. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 40.

he wrote in much distress of mind, but with reliance on his innocence, to ask for an examination of the charges; but, since he could let his hearing hold over, if necessary, (see postscript,) until he returned from the country, did not write like a courtier under royal disfavor, or a man who saw the chief means of maintaining himself and his reputation—the theatres of the children's companies—closed against him. The letter sounds much more as if, whatever the office involved, it were not his only stay. Moreover, why should Lyly speak of the Queen as "My Lady"? Never, elsewhere, does he so speak of her or address her. Compare with this letter, for instance, the two begging letters printed on pp. clvi-clx. Why, too, if the Queen had taken exception to *Sapho and Phao*, produced, apparently, in February, 1582, does Lyly write of her disfavor as if fresh in July? Apart, then, from any consideration of the question whether *Sapho and Phao* got its actors into difficulty,—a matter that it will be more convenient to treat a little later,<sup>1</sup>—it will be seen that the evidence in favor of interpreting this letter as a complaint against the Queen's disfavor caused by *Sapho and Phao* is not strong.

On the other hand, if we think that Lyly was slandered as to his management of some office which he held under Lord Burleigh, we are not

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. cxviii-cxxiii.

obliged at all to force the apparent meaning of the words of the letter, and it is not difficult to find a source for the slanders. The successful courtier always has enemies, and Lyly constantly complained in his plays of the backbiting at the court.<sup>1</sup> We even know of a particular enemy of Lyly, for the bad feeling, dating from 1580, existing between Lyly and Gabriel Harvey has already been pointed out.<sup>2</sup> That Lyly, even if he was not so guilty of backbiting as Harvey would have us believe, cherished for years a cordial dislike for Harvey, these words from his *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* (Sept. 1589), referring to Gabriel Harvey, plainly show: "If the toy take him to close with thee, then have I my wish, for this tenne yeres have I lookt to lambacke him."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For instance, see *Sapho and Phao*, Act I. Sc. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> That this reference is to Gabriel Harvey the following facts prove. A few lines before these quoted, Lyly referring to the same person, wrote: "And one will we coniure up, that writing a familiar Epistle about the naturall causes of an Earthquake, fell into the bowels of libelling" (Saintsbury. p. 56). This refers to Gabriel Harvey's letter to Spencer of April 7, 1580 (Grosart's Harvey. Vol. I. p. 40). Harvey, in his second part of *Pierce's Supererogation* (Nov. 5, 1589), shows that Lyly's reference stung him:—

"As for that new-created Spirite, whom double V. [Lyly's signature to the preface of *Pappe-with-an Hatchet*] like an other Doctour Faustus, threateneth, to coniure-upp at leysure (for I must returne to the terrible creature, that subscribeth himselfe Martins Double V. and will

If we remember that Lord Oxenford, the patron of both men, was the son-in-law of Burleigh, and that Harvey boasted that Lyly's effort did not deprive him of the Earl's favor,<sup>1</sup> we see why there is a possibility that Harvey, in return for Lyly's attack on him in 1580, saw that slanderous reports about Lyly, in 1582, reached the ears of the dramatist's chief patron, Lord Burleigh. That would have been but tit for tat; and if the surmise be true, it shows why for nearly "tenne yerres"—from the summer of 1580 to Sept. 1589—Lyly was on the lookout for a chance to "lambacke" Harvey, and why he stirred up the pamphleteering against him for which Harvey blamed him in 1593.<sup>2</sup>

For some years after 1580, then, Lyly, prominent at the court and in the city as a literary man, acquainted with most of the prominent figures of the day, and at odds with Gabriel Harvey, was engaged in some work for Lord Burleigh, and in writing for the children's companies.

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needs also be my Tittle-tittle) were that Spirite disposed to appeare in his former likenesse, and to put the Necromancer to his purgation, he could peradventure make the coniuring wisard forsake the center of his Circle, and betake him to the circumference of his heeles. Simple Creature, iwis thou art too young an Artist to *coniure him* up, that can exorcise thee downe: or to *lamback him*, with *ten yeares* preparation, that can lambskin thee with a dayes warning."—*Pierce's Supererogation*. Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. II. pp. 209, 210.

<sup>1</sup> See p. xxxvii, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See p. cxli.

Mr. Fleay says that by 1583 both of these companies had been forbidden to act;<sup>1</sup> that from 1583 until 1596 the Children of the Chapel did not appear in any play-house;<sup>2</sup> and that the St. Paul's boys were silent from 1583 until 1587.<sup>3</sup> It is hard, however, to find his evidence for much of this, and the conclusiveness of some of the evidence adduced is not marked. Malone says<sup>4</sup> that in 1582-83 the children's companies were prohibited from acting, but he gives no evidence for his statement. Mr. Fleay writes: "1583, April 17.—The L. Mayor writes to Mr. Young, a neighboring Justice of the Peace, about Plays intended to be performed on May 1. This appears to me to be the time when the

<sup>1</sup> "These boys' companies were inhibited: the Chapel from 1582" (see Mr. Fleay's words in next note) "to 1591, Paul's from 1583 to 1587."

<sup>2</sup> "The children of the Chapel, who disappeared when their play-place was shut up early in 1583, . . . I cannot trace in any public playing-place between 1583 and 1596." *Hist. of Stage*. p. 81. The only account given by Mr. Fleay of the closing of this company's theatre is in the extract quoted above. In the *Chron. of Eng. Dr.*, vol. II. p. 40, Mr. Fleay also says: "The children of the Chapel were not inhibited till 1583." Since this agrees with his statement of note 2 rather than with that in note 1, and since both are later in time than the first statement, it is apparently Mr. Fleay's last (for the present) judgment on the matter.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Malone's *Shakespeare*. Vol. III. *Hamlet*, Act II. Sc. 2.

City authorities finally shut up the Bell, Bull, Bell Savage, the play-place nigh Paul's, and that in Whitefriars mentioned by Rawlidge, as well as the sixth inn-yard, that in Blackfriars, which he omits. He says it was shortly after 1580. But the court had stolen a march on them. In 1583, on 10th March, Tylney was sent for to Court to choose a company of players for Her Majesty ; and although these men are not met with in London in that year (the players travelling on account of the plague), the plan of making one company out of the best actors of Leicester's, Derby's, and Sussex' men was no doubt complete. This new company and Howard's or Hunsdon's could occupy the Theatre and Curtain, and of themselves would be sufficient, with the boy's companies (*sic*), for the Christmas holidays." <sup>1</sup> Previously, Mr. Fleay, by reasoning that will be considered in a moment, assigned the St. Paul's boys to Blackfriars Theatre from 1559-1581, and the Children of the Chapel to the Bell Savage inn-yard. <sup>2</sup> This account of his, then, closes the theatres of both in 1583 ; makes the city authorities responsible for the closing ; and speaks as if at Christmas, 1583, both companies were in favor at court. Let us now look at the evidence and its management. In the first place, the suggestion that at Christmas,

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Stage. pp. 54, 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.* pp. 36 and 39.

1583, both of the boys' companies were at the court is evidently a slip, for elsewhere (see notes 1 and 2) Mr. Fleay says that both companies were "inhibited" from 1583, and that the Children of the Chapel disappeared in 1583, when their playing-place was closed. Certainly the "Accounts of the Revels at Court" show that neither company acted at court at Christmas, 1583.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the evidence on which Mr. Fleay assigns the Children of the Chapel to the Bell Savage is by identifying the "two prose plays" acted, according to Gosson in his *School of Abuse*, at the Bell Savage in 1579, as early versions of *Endymion* and *Gallathea*. Doing this, Mr. Fleay places the marriage of Leicester and the Countess of Essex in 1576, and adds that until 1582 Lyly wrote for the Chapel children.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the best commentary on this evidence, apart from the statement that history places the marriage of Leicester and the Countess in 1578,<sup>3</sup> is that Mr. Fleay in later works silently throws away every idea on which the assignment of the Children of the Chapel to the Bell Savage rests. Later he says that Lyly began to write plays in 1581;<sup>4</sup> that *Gallathea* was not performed until 1587;<sup>5</sup> that the performance of *Endymion* was on

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<sup>1</sup> Extracts from Accounts of Revels at Court. *Old Shaks. So.*, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage. p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> See p. xlv.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem.* p. 40.

Feb. 1, 1588;<sup>1</sup> and that "Lyly, the vice-master of Paul's, wrote for those boys only."<sup>2</sup> Not much seems to be left of the evidence on which Mr. Fleay assigned the Children of the Chapel to the Bell Savage inn.

In a somewhat similar way Mr. Fleay places the St. Paul's boys in the Blackfriars inn-yard. He says: "The Blackfriars inn-yard was almost certainly used by the children of Paul's." Both Lyly's *Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao*, he adds, "were acted in public by the Paul's boys, as we know from the title-pages of 1584; and both have prologues 'at the Blackfriars.' *Mydas*, of later date, has its prologue 'in Paul's'"<sup>3</sup> The title-page of each play reads: "Played before the Queenes Maiestie [date] by her Maiesties Children, and the Children of Paules." To make that title-page mean that the Paul's boys gave the play in public and the Children of the Chapel gave it at Court, we must emphasize the comma after *Children* and add the words *in public* between *and* and *the*. Are we justified in doing this? Why is it not entirely probable that the two little companies acted the plays together? That none of the later plays bears the same statement is because very soon the Children of the Chapel disappear from court records to reappear (1601)<sup>4</sup> only when Lyly's plays were no

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.* p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. of Stage, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem.* pp. 124, 125.



longer popular.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, does it not seem more probable, since it is generally admitted that after 1587 the St. Paul's boys acted within the walls surrounding the Cathedral grounds,<sup>2</sup>—a space back of the convocation-house or, more generally, their singing-school in St. Gregory's is the place assigned for their theatre,<sup>3</sup>—that even before 1587 they acted in the same place? We know that dramatic representations passed gradually from the churches, through the cathedral yards and the God's-acres, to the public squares and the inn-yards. We know, too, that the choristers acted first only in sacred plays within the churches, and passed slowly to acting outside the churches in plays not sacred. When the St. Paul's choristers first acted outside the Cathedral, would it not, probably, have been in the Cathedral yard or in their singing-school? Why should they have gone outside the Cathedral enclosure, only to return to it later,—particularly since in the earlier years, from 1559–1584,<sup>4</sup> for instance, each of these places was as

<sup>1</sup> For evidence as to a change in public taste by 1601, see p. clxxvii, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage. pp. 86 and 88. Lyly in *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*, Sept. 1589, said of a play on Martin Marprelate: "If he be showed at Paul's, it will cost you fourpence." The prologue to *Midas*, 1589 (see p. cxlix), acted by the Paul's boys only, is "in Paul's."

<sup>3</sup> Hist. of Stage. pp. 145 and 152. Eng. Dr. Poetry. Collier. Vol. I. p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. of Stage. p. 40. Mr. Fleay gives 1559–81 as the date for the Paul's boys at Blackfriars.

ready for them as in 1587? Either the singing-school or the space back of the Convocation-house was very central,—in sound of Paul's Walk and the busy shops of the book-dealers within the yard. In other words, do not these ideas of Mr. Collier's seem plausible: <sup>1</sup> that from at least 1580 onward the St. Paul's boys acted within the walls surrounding the Cathedral property; and that the children of the Chapel Royal, placed wherever the court might be,—at Westminster, Whitehall, or Greenwich, all outside the city walls,—who would of necessity wish for a place in the centre of the city in which to act publicly, appeared at the Blackfriars inn? It is noteworthy that prologues "at the Blackfriars" occur only in those plays, *Alexander* and *Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao*, which bear the name of this company beside that of the St. Paul's children on their title-pages; and is it not a little significant that when the Chapel children reappeared in a public play-house in 1597, it was at the new Blackfriars Theatre, built by Burbadge?<sup>2</sup> Would they not, probably, like the Paul's boys, return as far as they could to the place where their former triumphs had been won?

Certainly, enough has been said to make it hardly necessary further to examine Mr. Fleay's evidence as to the closing of the children's theatres in 1583. He slipped as to their history

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. Eng. Dr. Poetry. Vol. III. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage. pp. 126 and 132.

even in the original statement ; his placing of the Paul's boys is very questionable ; and he himself gives up all the testimony on which he assigned the Chapel children to the Bell Savage. When we add that, as Mr. Fleay admits,<sup>1</sup> Rawlidge, on whose testimony he rests his case, says nothing about the theatre in Blackfriars which Mr. Fleay makes the home of the Paul's boys and closes with the other theatres ; that for Rawlidge's words to be of any service to Mr. Fleay, we must hold that 1583 would be "shortly after 1580"; that Rawlidge does not name any of the play-houses, but refers to them as "The Theatre in Gracious St.," etc., all the identifications being Mr. Fleay's;<sup>2</sup> that long since Mr. Collier doubted<sup>3</sup> whether he could safely base important conclusions on the words of a man who wrote as did Rawlidge forty odd<sup>4</sup> years after the occurrences of which he speaks; and that Mr. Fleay admits<sup>5</sup> that Rawlidge talks of the existence of a theatre in Whitefriars, something not mentioned by any one else as existing until 1610; may it not safely be said that Mr. Fleay's evidence for the disappearance of the children's companies in 1583 is not well founded ?

Apparently forgetting that it was the city au-

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Stage. p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>3</sup> Hist. Eng. Dr. Poetry. Vol. I. p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem.* Vol. III. p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> Hist. of Stage. p. 39.

thorities and their closing of the play-houses in 1583 which put an end to both of the boys' companies, Mr. Fleay in his *Chronicle of the English Drama* holds that *Alexander and Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao* "gave offence, . . . for the Paul's boys were inhibited forthwith, and Lyly in July was in disgrace for want of respect to her" (the Queen). "There are allusions to flatterers and false accusers in the Pandion part of the play; and as the Chapel Children were not inhibited till 1583, when all the children's performances were stopped, I think that it was the Paul's stage which gave the offence, and that the Chapel presentations were by command, that the Queen might judge the play for herself. The S. R. entry of the play in 1584 was subject to Cadman's getting lawful allowance for it."<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that Mr. Fleay gives no proof anywhere that the acting of the St. Paul's boys was inhibited immediately after February 27, 1582. We find no record of an appearance at court by them between December, 1581, and December, 1587.<sup>2</sup> As has been seen, however,<sup>3</sup> this does not necessarily prove that they did not act at court between these dates, nor that they were forbidden to act in 1582. As has been

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from Accounts of Revels at Court; History of Stage, passim.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. xciii, xciv.

shown,<sup>1</sup> too, it is by no means clear that Lyly's letter to Lord Burleigh means that he was in disgrace with the Queen in July, 1582; and it is undeniable that Mr. Fleay has not proved that the acting of either the Chapel children or the Paul's boys was inhibited in 1583. Certainly parts of *Sapho and Phao*, with their very frank treatment of the coquetting of Elizabeth with Monsieur, might well have given offence, and royal disfavor may have been back of the question about licensing the first edition.<sup>2</sup> Yet, to assume that because the play may have given offence and there was some difficulty about licensing the first edition of it—the only strong bits of evidence advanced for Mr. Fleay's theory—the acting of the two companies was inhibited in 1583, would be something of a *non-sequitur*. Why should the Chapel children have suffered for a play originally produced, according to Mr. Fleay, by the St. Paul's boys and given by the Chapel children only on command of the Queen? Why, too, whether *Sapho and Phao* were given originally by the St. Paul's boys only, or by the Chapel children and the St. Paul's boys, as the title-page seems to say,<sup>3</sup> should the more guilty, or at

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. cvii-cx.

<sup>2</sup> "Tho. Cadman. Yt is graunted unto him that if he can gett the commedie of *Sappho* lawfully alowed unto him, Then none of this companie shall Interrupt him to nejoye yt."—Stationers' Register, April 6, 1584.

<sup>3</sup> Lilly's Works. Fairholt. Vol. I. p. 153.

least equally guilty, St. Paul's boys, and—most unexpected of all—the author of the play, Lyly, have been pardoned long before the Chapel children were again in favor at the court? From 1582 to 1601 there is no record of a performance at court by the Chapel children.<sup>1</sup> The St. Paul's boys were acting there in 1587. Finally, there is direct evidence that as late as November, 1583, the Children of the Chapel had not been forbidden to act at court, but expected subsequently to appear there.

In the State Paper Office is the following petition of William Hunnis,<sup>2</sup> master of the Chapel children from 1566 to 1597. On the back of the letter is written, in the same hand as that of the petition: "1583 November, The humble petition of the M<sup>r</sup> of the Childre of Hir Highness Chappell." In another hand are the words: "To gain further allowance for the finding of the Children for causes w<sup>th</sup>in mentioned."<sup>3</sup>

"Maye it please yo<sup>r</sup> honores Willm Hunnys M<sup>r</sup> to the Children of Her Higness Chappell, most humbly beesecheth to consid<sup>r</sup> of these few lynes.

Ffirst Her Ma<sup>tie</sup> alloweth for the Dyet of

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Stage, pp. 29, 125; Extracts from Accounts of Revels at Court, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of Hunnis see the Old Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal. *Camden So.* p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> See Cal. S. P. Dom. Series, 1581-90, p. 132, or the State Papers, No. 88, Vol. 163.

vij children of Hir sayd chappell daylie vj<sup>d</sup> a peece by the daye, and vj<sup>8</sup> by the yeare for theyre aparrell and all other furniture.

“Agayne there is no ffee allowed neyther for the m<sup>r</sup> of the sayd childre nor for his ussher, & yet nevertheless is he constraigned over and besyde the ussher still to kepe bothe a man se<sup>r</sup>-vant to attend upon them and lykewyse a woman se<sup>r</sup>v<sup>a</sup>nt to wash and kepe them cleane.

“Also there is no allowance for the lodginge of the sayd Children, such tyme as they attend uppon the Courte, but the m<sup>r</sup> to his greate charge is dryven to hyre chambers both for himself, his ussher, . . . Children and servants.

“Also there is no allowance for ryding services when occasion serveth the m<sup>r</sup> to travell or send into sundrie cyties within this realm, to take upp and bring such children as be thought meete to be trayned for the service of hir ma<sup>tie</sup>.

“Also there is no allowance ne other consideracõn for those children whose voyces be chaunged, whoe onely do depend upon the charge of the sayd m<sup>r</sup> untill such tyme as he may p<sup>r</sup>ferr the same w<sup>th</sup> cloathing and other furniture, unto his no small charge.

“And although it may be obiected that her ma<sup>ties</sup> allowance is no whit less than her ma<sup>ties</sup> ffather of famous memorie therefore allowed: Yet considering the pryces of things present to the tyme past, and what annuities the M<sup>r</sup> then hadd out of sundrie Citties within this realm be-

sydes sondrie giftes from the Kinge and dyvers perticuler fees besydes for the better mayntenance of the sayd childre<sup>d</sup> and office: and besides also there hath ben with drawal from the sayd children synce hir ma<sup>ts</sup> comming to the crowne vij<sup>d</sup> by the daye whiche was allowed for theyr breakefast as may appeare by the Treasurer of the Chamber his acomp<sup>t</sup>. for the tyme beinge. With other allowances incident to the office as appeareth by the auntyent accomptes in the sayd office, which I heere s mitt.

“The burden heereof hath from tyme to tyme so hindred the m<sup>r</sup> of the children viz. m<sup>r</sup> Bower, m<sup>r</sup> Edwards, my self, and m<sup>r</sup> ffarrant that notwithstanding some good helpes other wyse, some of them dyed in so poore case, and so deeple indebted that they have not left scarcelye wherewith to burrye them.

“In tender consideraçon whereof, might it please yo<sup>r</sup> honores that the sayde allowance of vij<sup>d</sup> apeece for the childrens dyet myght be reserved in hir ma<sup>ts</sup> coffers during the tyme of theyre attendaunce, and in lieu thereof they be allowed meate and drinke within this honorable houshold for that I am not able uppon so small allowance any length to beare so heavie a burden. As other wyse to be consydered as shall seeme best unto yo<sup>r</sup> honorable wysdomes.”

Certainly this is not the petition of a man whose company is no longer permitted to act at



court. It is possible that when Hunnis says that "annuities . . . out of sundrie citties . . . and dyvers perticuler fees" no longer are his, he refers to suppression of public performances by his boys, but it is difficult to see why he should have spoken so vaguely of an event so important to him.

Therefore, though we might grant that *Sapho and Phao* may well, from its nature, have angered the Queen, and that the trouble attending the licensing of the play in 1584 may possibly have come from royal disfavor shown the play, examination of the evidence of Mr. Fleay shows that it gives no conclusive proof that *Sapho and Phao* was responsible for the disappearance of one or both of the boys' companies, or that either or both companies were forbidden, by 1583, to act.

There is, however, strong evidence that at some time before April, 1584, when the *Alexander and Campaspe* of Lyly was licensed, the two companies of children had ceased to act. We find no record of a performance at court by the St. Paul's boys from Dec. 26, 1581, until Christmas, 1587;<sup>1</sup> none for the Children of the Chapel from Dec. 26, 1582, until January, 1601.<sup>2</sup> Since both of the companies, however, appeared in *Sapho and Phao*, which could not have

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Stage, pp. 29 and 76. Extracts from Accounts of Revels at Court, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage, pp. 29 and 125. Also see Extracts,

been written until after Feb. 6, 1582,<sup>1</sup> both must have been acting at some time after that date. Mr. Fleay says that in 1583 the companies were travelling on account of the plague;<sup>2</sup> therefore, the theatres of the boys' companies were temporarily closed by this scourge. Though the Chapel boys were not out of favor in November, 1583,<sup>3</sup> neither of the children's companies acted at court during the holidays of 1583; and in 1584, when the theatres of the men's companies were open,<sup>4</sup> the almost unfailing sign of the dissolution of a company—the publication of its plays—appears. On April 6, *Sapho and Phao* was licensed; and during the year it and *Alexander and Campaspe* were printed. April 1, 1595, *Tityrus and Galatea* was licensed. As has been said, Lyly printed his plays only when his companies were not acting them, either because they were silent or the plays were no longer popular.<sup>5</sup> The fact that both *Endymion* and *Gallathea* were revived later shows that these plays could not, in 1584, have "been considered musty fopperies of antiquity,"<sup>6</sup> the objection made to the old plays of the Paul's boys when, in 1600, they revived some of them.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage. pp. 54, 55.

<sup>3</sup> See petition of Hunnis, pp. cxx-cxxii.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. of Stage. p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> See dates for publication from p. clxiv onward.

<sup>6</sup> See extract from *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, p. cixxvii, note 2.

What, too, adds strength to the idea that when Lyly first published his plays, neither of the companies was acting, is the fact that on April 26, 1585, shortly after the licensing of *Tityrus and Galatea* (April 1), we find a writ of Queen Elizabeth to Thomas Gyles, as Master of the Children of St. Paul's, authorizing him in the usual formula to take up suitable children wherever he might find them, and to train them to entertain the Queen and the court :—

“ ELIZABETH R.

“ Whereas we have authorized our servaunte Thomas Gyles, M<sup>r</sup> of the Children of the Cathedral Church of St. Paule, within our Cittie of London, to take up such apte and meete children, as are most fitt to be instructed and framed in the arte and science of musicke and singing, as may be had and founde out within anie place of this our Realme of England or Wales, to be by his education and bringing up made meete and hable to serve us in that behalf, when our pleasure is to call for them. We, therefore, by the tenor of these presents, will and require you, that ye permit and suffer from henceforthe our saide servaunts Thomas Gyles, and his deputy or deputies, and every of them, to take up in anye Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Churches, and in everye other place or places of this our Realme of England and Wales, such Childe or Children, as he or they or anye of them shall finde and like of ; and the same Childe or Chil-

dren, by vertue hereof, for the use and service aforesaide, with them or anye of them to bring awaye, without anye your letts, contradictions, staye or interruption, to the contrarye. Charginge and commaundinge you, and everie of you, to be aydinge helpinge and assistinge unto the abovenamed Thomas Gyles, and his deputy & deputies, in and about the due execution of the premisses, for the more spedie effectual and bettar accomplishment thereof from tyme to tyme, as you and everie of you doe tendar our will & pleasure, and will aunswere for doinge the contrarye at your perills. Yoven under our Signet at our Manor of Grenewich, the 26th day of April, in the 27th yere of our reign.

“To all and singuler Deanes, Provostes, Masters and Wardens of Collegies, and all ecclesiastical persons and mynisters, and to all other our officers mynisters and subjects to whom in this case it shall apperteyne, and to everye of them greetinge.”<sup>1</sup>

When the failure of *Tityrus and Galathea* to appear, and the cessation of the publication of Lyly's plays from 1585 until the theatre of the St. Paul's boys was closed in 1590 or 1591, are taken into consideration with this writ dated only a few weeks after the

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<sup>1</sup> The English Drama and Stage under the Tudor and Stuart Princes. W. C. Hazlitt. (Roxburghe Library.) pp. 33, 34. Hist. Eng. Dr. Poetry. Collier. Vol. I. pp. 258, 259, note.

licensing of the play, all the evidence strongly suggests that for some reason the St. Paul's boys had not been acting from a date somewhere between February, 1582 (the latest time referred to in *Sapho and Phao*) and Christmas, 1583, (when neither of the children's companies appeared at court) and April 26, 1585, when the writ to Thomas Gyles was issued. Though they do not appear in the court records between Dec. 26, 1581 and Christmas, 1587, the title-page of *Sapho and Phao* ("played before the Queen's Majesty by the Children of the Chapel, and the Children of Pauls") makes it debatable whether they did not act at court in February or March, 1582; and they may perfectly well have been acting in public between the end of April, 1585, and Christmas, 1587. However, as the plague was bad in 1586,<sup>1</sup> their acting in that year was doubtless interfered with. It is certainly significant that when the Queen, at Christmas, 1584, evidently wished to see a play by children, *Agamemnon and Ulysses* was given, not by the St. Paul's boys or the Chapel choristers, but by a company mentioned only in this entry, "The Earle of Oxenford his boys."<sup>2</sup> That certainly seems

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Stage, p. 56. English Writers, vol. ix. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage, pp. 30, 80. Extracts from Accounts of Revels, p. 188.

to mean that both companies were out of favor and probably not acting in 1584.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover the perfect freedom given to Gyles by this writ to take up children anywhere would seem to show that when it was issued no other company of children was acting, for we have seen that in November, 1583, Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel,<sup>2</sup> evidently had a similar writ in his possession, and yet here the Chapel choir, which was usually excepted in writs like this,<sup>3</sup> is not mentioned. Apparently, then, in 1584 and 1585 the Chapel children were out of favor. Nor did they come into favor again for very many years. As has been said, their names do not appear in the court records until Jan. 6, 1601. They did not appear in any public playhouse before 1597, when their new master, Nathaniel Gyles, made a contract with Burbadge by which the company could act in

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<sup>1</sup> Query: Is it possible that this Lord Oxenford, the patron of Lyly and interested in actors, had for some reason temporarily permitted the Paul's or Chapel boys, or some lads from each of these former companies, to use his name?

<sup>2</sup> See p. cxx.

<sup>3</sup> In a similar writ, issued by Elizabeth in the second year of her reign to aid the choristers at Windsor, she granted this right to take up children "whersoever ye may find them within this our realm, our said Chapel of household and S. Paulus in London only forborne." *Hist. Eng. Dr. Poetry*. Collier. Vol. I. p. 170. *Progr. Eliz. Nichols*. Vol. I. p. 81. Ed. 1823.

the new Blackfriars Theatre.<sup>1</sup> Between November, 1583, and July, 1597, we have little evidence bearing on their history. Mr. Fleay assigns to them Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, acted at Croydon in 1592, but their name does not stand on the title-page, and certainly the internal evidence points at least as strongly to the St. Paul's boys as the actors.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Stage, pp. 126, 127.

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing in the play that forbids a reader to hold the opinion that it was given by the St. Paul's boys. The clear understanding that the writer showed of what might be dangerous for his company evidently means that he had experienced it or seen others experience it. That would, of course, have been true in August, 1592, the date of Nash's play,\* of a writer for either the long-disgraced

\* That August was the month in which Nash's play was given *Summer's* lines show clearly :

" Summer I am ; I am not what I was ;

On Autumn, now, and Winter I must lean."

" This month have I lain languishing a-bed,

Looking each hour to yield my life and throne."

(Old Plays, vol. ix. pp. 18, 19.)

At least three references in the play show, too, that it was August, 1592, when the play was given. Very early *Will Summer* says : " Forsooth, because the plague reigns in most places in this latter end of summer " (p. 17), and we know from Camden's *Annals of Elizabeth* that in 1592 the plague raged. Later *Summer* says :

" The Thames is witness of thy tyranny,

Whose waves thou dost exhaust for winter showers.

The naked channel 'plains her of thy spite,

That laid'st her entrails unto open sight." (p. 32.)

Camden tells us that on the fifth of September, 1592, so great was the drought of the late summer that a man might ride over the Thames near London Bridge.

To the Chapel children Mr. Fleay assigns also *Dr. Doddypoll, The Wars of Cyrus* (both anony-

Chapel boys or the St. Paul's lads but newly out of favor. The extreme desire, however, shown in both the prologue and the epilogue—the latter spoken by a child so small that he delivers it sitting on Will Summer's knee, and at the end is carried away—to avert disfavor, suggests that this particular company of players had experienced it but recently, and that at Croydon they were making the most, with extreme caution, of a possible chance to reinstate themselves in favor. Here are parts of the epilogue and the prologue which bear on the preceding statements :

“ Gentlemen (for kings are no better), certain humble animals, called our actors, commend them unto you : who, what offence they have committed I know not (ex-

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Near the end of the play these lines occur in a song :

“ Trades cry, woe worth that ever they were born !  
The want of term is town and city's harm.” (p. 77.)

A letter of Thomas Nash written in the long vacation (June 29 to Oct. 10), 1596 (Collier, i. 292), contains allusions to the term having been held at Hertford and St. Albans in 1592 and 1593.

Two of the references, the first and the third, might almost equally well be placed in 1592 or 1593, but the third can be placed only in 1592. That August, 1592, is the correct date the following corroborative evidence from Nash's *Private Epistle of the Author to the Printer* prefixed to his *Pierce Penilesse, His Supplication to the Devil* (licensed Aug. 8, 1592), seems to show, if we remember that often in the play “ My Lord ” is mentioned as the person before whom it is given.

“ And lastly, to the Ghost of *Robert Greene*, telling him what a coyle there is with pamphleting on him after his death. These were prepared for *Pierce Penilesse* first setting foorth, had not the feare of infection detained mee with my Lord in the Countrey.

“ I am the Plagues prisoner in the Country as yet : if the sicknesse cease before the thirde impression, I will come and alter whatsoever may be offensive to any man, and bring you the latter ende.” (Nash's Works. Grosart. ii. pp. 5, 6, 8.)



mous), and *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, by Marlowe and Nash,<sup>1</sup> the last printed in 1594.

Mr. Fleay gives no evidence to support his assignment of the first two plays to the Chapel children, and later,<sup>2</sup> without any explanation of the change, gives *Dr. Doddypoll* to the Children of Paul's. To this company it has usually been

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cept it be in purloining some hours out of time's treasury, that might have been better employed), but by me (the agent of their imperfections) they humbly crave pardon, if haply some of their terms have trod awry, or their tongues stumbled unwittingly on any man's content. In much corn is some cockle; in a heap of coin here and there a piece of copper: wit hath his dregs, as well as wine; words their waste, ink his blots, every speech his parenthesis; poetical fury, as well crabs as sweetings for his summer fruits. *Nemo sapit omnibus horis*. Their folly is deceased; their fear is yet living. Nothing can kill an ass but cold: cold entertainment discouraging scoffs, authorized disgraces, may kill a whole litter of young asses of them here at once that hath travelled thus far in impudence, only in hope to sit a sunning in your smiles. . . . Your grace's frowns are to them shaking fevers; your least disfavours, the greatest ill-fortune that may betide them." Old Plays (Dodsley), ed. 1825. Vol. IX. pp. 78, 79. In the prologue, the speaker says: "Moralizers, you that wrest a never-meant meaning out of every thing, applying all things to the present time, keep your attention for the common stage; for here are no quips in characters for you to read. Vain glozers, gather what you will; spite, spell backward what thou canst." (*Idem*, p. 16.)

<sup>1</sup> Hist of Stage. p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage. p. 91.

assigned.<sup>1</sup> We are left with the statement of the title-page of the *Dido* that the play was given by the Chapel children as the only strong direct evidence that between 1583 and 1597 they were acting at all. From the nature of the play—it is well suited to out-of-door representation—and the fact that from 1583 to 1597 we do not hear of the Chapel children in any public playhouse, Mr. Fleay's surmise<sup>2</sup> that *Dido* was privately given seems sound.

In brief, then, the evidence shows that from Dec. 26, 1581, to Christmas, 1587, the St. Paul's boys do not appear in the records of the Revels Office; that from somewhere between Feb. 1582 (when *Sapho and Phao* was probably produced) and Christmas, 1583 (when neither company of boys acted at court) until April 26, 1585 (the date of the writ given to Thomas Gyles) the St. Paul's boys were probably not acting; that from Dec. 26, 1582, to Jan. 6, 1601, the Chapel children do not appear in the "Accounts of the Revels at Court"; that from a date probably between November, 1583 (the time of the petition of Hunnis) and the beginning of the next year (since at Christmas the company did not, as was usual, act at court) until 1597, they did not act in any public play-house, and performed in private, apparently, but rarely.

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<sup>1</sup> Malone's Shakespeare. Vol. III. pp. 427-29.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage, p. 81. Chron. Eng. Dr. Vol. II. p. 147.

What was the cause of these breaks in the history of the companies it is hard to say. Certainly the plague cannot account for the long silence of the Chapel children; nor is it a satisfactory explanation of the silence of the St. Paul's boys; for, as has been said, 1584 and 1585, when the St. Paul's boys were silent, were not bad plague years, and in them the men's companies were acting. Royal disfavor seems to be the only satisfactory explanation for the break in the history of each company. Certainly, only in this way can the disappearance for nineteen years of the Children of the Chapel from the Revels' records be accounted for. Moreover, this idea, at least so far as the Chapel children are concerned, is supported by some words in a letter of 1600. It was written to the Queen by an angry father whose child had been kidnapped by Nathaniel Gyles and his associates of the Blackfriars theatre. He said: "Nathaniel Gyles . . . hath sithence your ma<sup>ties</sup> last free & generall pardon moste wrongfully, unduly & uniuistly taken divers & severall childeren from divers & sondry scholes of learning;" and "All w<sup>ch</sup> vyolente courses . . . were soe committed, perpetrated & done sithence your ma<sup>ties</sup> last free and generall pardon."<sup>1</sup> It hardly seems probable that it was Gyles who was pardoned, for his advance in the service of the Queen had been steady. From 1595 to 1597 he

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<sup>1</sup> Hist. of Stage. pp. 127 and 132.

had been Master of the Choristers at Windsor: in the latter year was made Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and given the writ which, by 1600, he had misused.<sup>1</sup> It seems more probable that the "general pardon" refers to the reinstating of the Chapel boys, by the writ of 1597, in the Queen's favor.

It seems barely possible that royal displeasure caused by *Sapho and Phao* may have brought trouble to the St. Paul's boys; but if it did, it is a little surprising that the licensing of the play should have been allowed in April, 1584, but the actors in it not forgiven for another year. To allow the play to be printed was to spread what had been held to be objectionable. Printing it should, then, have meant an end of the anger aroused by it. Why, then, delay for a year pardoning the players? Certainly, too, the nature of *Sapho and Phao* will not account for the long disappearance from public performances of the Chapel children. If they were less guilty than the Paul's boys, as Mr. Fleay makes them,<sup>2</sup> the punishment was altogether too unjust to be sustained; if they were equally guilty, the same may be said; if they were the original offenders, why should the worst culprit of all, the author, have been allowed to print his offending play in 1584 and to write and present new plays for many

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<sup>1</sup> Old Cheque-Book of Chapel Royal. Rimbault. p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 40.

years before we have any record of even a private performance by the Chapel children? It would seem that causes were at work in both cases, particularly in that of the Chapel children, which we cannot now ascertain.

All this as to the dates of the companies of children may seem a long and an unnecessary digression, but it is very important : in general, because, if we know pretty definitely when the two companies were or were not acting, this is a great aid in deciding the time of composition of plays assigned without date on their title-pages to either company; and, specially, in this discussion, because it is impossible to treat satisfactorily of Lyly between 1580 and 1590 unless the value and the meaning of the hitherto somewhat tangled evidence in regard to the children's companies be first determined. The examination of the evidence shows us that apparently until 1584 Lyly was writing for one or both of the children's companies; that when they ceased to act, he promptly began to publish his plays; that when the St. Paul's boys, late in April, 1585, were again in favor, he discontinued the publication of his plays, and from 1585 until in or near 1591, in which year he again published plays, was busy writing for the St. Paul's boys.

One other bit of evidence we seem to have about John Lyly before he began a second time to write for the St. Paul's boys. In 1584, the year when *Alexander and Campaspe* and *Sapho ana*

*Phao* were published and the "Earl of Oxenford's Boys" acted at court at Christmas, Lyly was, apparently, at Oxford for some time, since we find in the Day Book of the bursars of Magdalen College: "Mr. John Lillie communarius debet pro communis et batellis<sup>1</sup> 23s. 10d."<sup>2</sup> Since the *Alumni Oxonienses* shows that no other John Lyly was connected with Magdalen at this date, this is apparently the dramatist.

From late April, 1585, then, Lyly was probably busy again with work for the St. Paul's boys. Until 1589<sup>3</sup> we have no evidence bearing directly on Lyly other than what has been already stated to show the probability that between 1585 and 1588 he made over *Gallathea*. In 1588 began the Martin Marprelate controversy,<sup>4</sup> originally a discussion on government in ecclesiastical matters between the party of the established church and the Puritans, which grew into an exchange of scurrilous personalities. In August or September, 1589,<sup>5</sup> Lyly, as we should

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<sup>1</sup> To owe "pro batellis" means that Lyly left unsettled his kitchen or buttery account. See *Cent. Dict.*

<sup>2</sup> Ath. Cantab. Also English Reprints: Lyly. Chron. p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> The St. Paul's boys acted at court at Christmas, 1587, and "sundry" times in 1588, but in what plays we do not know. *Hist. of Stage*, p. 76.

<sup>4</sup> For an account of this see *English Writers*, vol. ix. pp. 294-308.

<sup>5</sup> Fleay says August, *Chron. Eng. Dr.*, vol. II. p. 130, September, p. 39. Arber says about September, 1589. *Eng. Scholar's Library*, No. 8, p. 197.

expect from his admiration for Dr. Andrews, wrote on behalf of the High Church party, *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*.<sup>1</sup> That Mr. Saintsbury, in his *Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets*, attributes it with a query to John Lyly is odd, for the pamphlet shows not only the main characteristics of Lyly's style,—the careful antithesis, the peculiar transverse alliteration, the similes from natural history,<sup>2</sup>—but also similes found elsewhere in his work, and at least one word, *squirrilitie*,<sup>3</sup> which seems to mark the text as his.

<sup>1</sup> "Indeed our parents take great care to make us aske blessing : . . . they give us pap with a spoone before we can speake, and when we speake for that wee love, pap with a hatchet : because their fancies being growen mustie with hoarie age, therefore nothing can relish in their thoughts that savours of sweete youth." *Mother Bombie*, Act I. Sc. 2. Fairholt. Vol. II. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 75 of the pamphlet the author compares the "settled raigne" of Elizabeth to the "cedar that kniteth itselfe with such wreaths into the earth, that it cannot be removed by any violent force of aire." The cedar is one of Lyly's pet similes for Elizabeth and her rule. See *Endymion*, p. 27; *Sapho and Phao*, vol. I. p. 201. Fairholt. "These Martins were hatcht of addle egges, else could they not have such idle heads." Saintsbury, p. 49. "If I had not ben gathered from the tree in the bud, I should being blowen have proved a blast, and as good it is to be an addle egg, as an idle bird." *To the Gentlemen Scholars of Oxford*. Arber. p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> In Act II. Sc. 2 of *Endymion* occurs the following passage, in which there is evidently some play on *squirrel*, an unusual word not to be found in the glossaries of Elizabethan books :—

Any careful reader of the pamphlet who knows well the work of Lyly must feel that the writer of *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* had good reason to say: "Faith, thou wilt be caught by the stile."<sup>1</sup> Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nash, too, in the pamphlets which they published against each other, give proof that the tract is Lyly's. In the second part of *Pierce's Supererogation*,<sup>2</sup> Harvey attributes *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* to Lyly in these words: "Surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow; would God Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, & never Pap-hatchet." "Faith, quoth himselfe, thou wilt be caught by thy stile: Indeede what more easie, then to finde the man by his humour, the Midas by his Eares, the Calfe by his tongue, the goose by his quill, the Playmaker by his stile, the hatchet by the Pap? Albertus Secrets, Poggius Fabels, Bebelius iestes, Scoggins tales, Wakefields lyes, Parson

"*Sir Tophas.* What is that the gentlewoman carrieth in a chain?

"*Epiton.* Why, it is a squirrel.

"*Sir Tophas.* A squirrel! O Gods, what things are made for money!"

The way in which this unusual word is played upon in the following from (p. 53, Saintsbury) *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* suggests that the same hand wrote both extracts: "He hath taken up all the words for his obscenitie: obscenitie? Nay, I am too nice; squirrilitie were a better word: well, let me alone to squirril them."

<sup>1</sup> Saintsbury. p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Harvey's Works. Grosart, Vol. II. p. 124.



Darceyes Knaveries, Tarletons trickes, Eldertons Ballats, Greenes Pamphlets, Euphues Similes, double V<sup>s</sup> phrases, are too-well knowen, to go unknowen. Where the Veine of Braggadocio is famous, the arterie of Pappadocio cannot be obscure. It is a good hearing, when good fellowes have a care of the Commonwealth, and the Church; and a godly motion when Interluders leave penning their pleasurable Playes to become zealous ecclesiastical writers." <sup>1</sup> Nash, constantly referring to Lyly as attacked by Harvey for writing *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*, <sup>2</sup> passes to calling Lyly Pap-Hatchet, <sup>3</sup> and never even suggests a denial that Lyly wrote the pamphlet. Certainly, denial of Lyly's authorship of the offending pamphlet would have been too strong a weapon in Nash's hands to be neglected, if he could honestly have used it.

*Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* is a clever but scurrilous attack on the Puritans and Martinists in general and Gabriel Harvey in particular. <sup>4</sup> Its chief interest to-day is, probably, its relation to the long and virulent pamphleteering between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nash. It seems to have been indirectly the origin of the bad feeling between these two men. *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* appeared in August or September, 1589,

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<sup>1</sup> Harvey's Works. Vol. II. pp. 215, 216.

<sup>2</sup> Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. III. pp. 27, 141, 174.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*. Vol. II. pp. 69, 196.

<sup>4</sup> See p. cix,

and the passages in it referring to Gabriel Harvey angered him so much that by Nov. 5 of the same year he had written his *Advertisement for Paphatchet*.<sup>1</sup> This was probably circulated in MS., but was not published until 1593, when it appeared as the second part of *Pierce's Supererogation*.<sup>2</sup> In this he violently upbraided Lyly as the author of the offending pamphlet. Meantime, Richard Harvey, brother of Gabriel, printed at about the same time<sup>3</sup> as that of the appearance of *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet, Plain Percival*, and, in October, *The Lamb of God and His Enemies*. In

<sup>1</sup> The portion of *Pierce's Supererogation* directed against Lyly is dated from Trinity Hall, Nov. 5, 1589. Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Nash's evidence supports this statement. "Against blasphemous *Servetus*, or *Muretus*, or *Sunius*, that have been so bold with her Majestie and this State, was thys Invective of his first armed and advanced; which (uppon the missing his preferment, or advancement, in Court) he suppress, and in the bottom of a rustie hamper let it lye asleepe by him (even as he did the Advertisement against *Paphatchet* & *Martin*, which he hath yoakt with it, by his own date, ever since 89) and now, with putting in new names here and there of *Nashe* & *Piers Pennilesse*, he hath so pannyerd and drest it that it seemes a new thing, though there be no new thing in it that claimes anie kindred of mee, more than a dozen of famisht quips, but like a lose French cassock, or gabberdine, would fit any man." *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*. Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. III. pp. 184, 185.

<sup>3</sup> Along here Mr. Fleay is followed in the assignment of the date. Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 130.

these pamphlets, says Nash, Richard Harvey "snarl'd privily" at Lyly and Nash (who at about the date of *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* had issued his anti-Martinist pamphlet, *Pasquil of England*), and "mistermed all our other Poets and writers about London, piperly make-plaies and make-bates. Hence Greene, being chiefe agent for the companie (for he writ more than foure other . . . ) tooke occasion to canonize him a little in his Cloth-breeches and Velvet-breeches, and because by some probable collections hee gest the Elder brothers hand was in it, he coupled them both in one yoake, and, to fulfill the proverbe *Tria sunt omnia*, thrust in the third brother, who made a perfect parriall of Pamphleteers."<sup>1</sup> This pamphlet of Greene's was licensed July 21, 1592.

Harvey says that Greene did not of himself take up the literary cudgels, but was instigated to the attack by Lyly. "He [Lyly] had ever passed untouched with any syllable of revenge in Print, had not Greene and this dog-fish [Nash] abominably misused the verbe passive; as should appeare, by his procurement, or encouragement, assuredly most undeserved, and most injurious. For what other quarrel could Greene or this dogge-fish ever picke with me: whom I never so much as twitched by the sleeve, before I founde miselfe, and my dearest frendes unsufferable

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<sup>1</sup> Nash's Works. Grosart, Vol. II. pp. 196, 197.

quipped in most contumelious, and opprobrious termes.”<sup>1</sup> August 8, 1592, Nash’s *Piers Pennilisse, His Supplication to the Devil* was licensed, but this was directed rather against Richard Harvey for his words in *Plain Percival* and *The Lamb of God* than against Gabriel Harvey. It is evident, then, that originally the pamphleteering had two divisions: Lyly against Gabriel Harvey; and Lyly, Nash, and any other dramatists who felt themselves insulted by parts of *Plain Percival* and *The Lamb of God*, against Richard Harvey. If we notice that Lyly’s is the only name occurring in both disputes; that in *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* he admits an old grudge against Gabriel Harvey;<sup>2</sup> that Greene, by Harvey’s own words quoted above, had no reason to attack him personally; that the reason given above by Nash for Greene’s attack on Harvey sounds labored; that Nash admits in *The Intercepting of Certain Letters* that until Gabriel Harvey’s *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets* appeared, late in 1592, his quarrel was entirely with Richard Harvey;<sup>3</sup> that Lyly, in

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<sup>1</sup> Harvey’s Works. Grosart. *Pierce’s Supererogation*. Vol. II. p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> See p. cix.

<sup>3</sup> “Ile make thee of my counsaile because I love thee (not): when I was in Cambridge, and but a childe, I was indifferently perswaded of thee: mee thought by thy apparell and thy gate, thou shouldst have beene a fine fellow: Little did I suspect that thou wert brother to Iø

*Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*, threatened the Martinists with a new man, apparently Nash;<sup>1</sup> and that in *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*, Nash says that a certain Signor Importunio—who bears a resemblance to Lyly—“never ceast, with all the vehemence of winde or breath that he hath, to incite and moove me to win spurres in this iourney”<sup>2</sup> (answering Gabriel Harvey);—the evidence supporting Harvey’s charge that John Lyly was the cause of the attacks upon him by Greene and Nash is pretty strong.

*Pæan* [Richard Harvey] (whom inwardly I alwaies grudged at for writing against *Aristotle*) or any of the Hs of Hempehall, but a Cavalier of a clean contrary house: now thou hast quite spoild thy selfe, from the foote to the head I can tell how thou art fashioned.” *Strange Newes of the Intercepting of Certain Letters*. Nash’s Works. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 194. See also vol. II. pp. 185, 186.

<sup>1</sup> “Then I thought to touch Martin with Logick, but there was a little wag in Cambridge, [Nash] that swore by St. Seaton, he would so swinge him with Sillogismes, that all Martin’s answeres should ake. The vile boy hath many bobbes, and a whole fardle of fallacies.” P. 52. *Saintsbury*.

<sup>2</sup> “Him that I tearme Senior Importunio is a Gentleman of good qualitie, to whom I rest manie waies beholding, and one (as the Philosophers say of winde that it is nothing but aire vehemently moov’d) so hath he never ceast, with all the vehemence of winde or breath that he hath, to incite and moove me to win my spurres in this iourney.” *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*. Nash’s Works. Grosart, Vol. III. p. 30.

At any rate, the result of Greene's brief but maddeningly effective railing at the three brothers was to make the two disputes one, and to narrow the contest to Gabriel Harvey against Thomas Nash. Greene's words roused Gabriel Harvey to a frenzy of anger. Dec. 4, 1592, his *Four Letters and Certain Sonnets touching R. Greene* was licensed, an outrageous attack on Greene, from which we get a large part of our probably not entirely accurate idea of the personality of that dramatist. The cruelty of this attack on a man but recently dead when it appeared aroused the anger of Nash, and turned his attack from Richard to Gabriel Harvey. He came in his *Strange News of the Intercepting of Certain Letters* (licensed Jan. 13, 1593) to the defence of Greene. Harvey, apparently shortly after July 16, 1593 (the date of the dedication) printed *Pierce's Supererogation, A New Praise of the Old Ass, A preparative to certain larger discourses entitled Nash's S. Fame*. Soon after, probably, appeared the much larger publication with the same name, a fourfold attack on Harvey's enemies. Part one is a general reply to his enemies, part two is the *Advertisement for Paphatchet* of 1589 rearranged; part three attacks Nash, the last part Dr. Perne.<sup>1</sup> The enmity of

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<sup>1</sup> "Hand off, there is none but I will have the unclasping of that, because I can doo it nimblest. It is devided into foure parts; one against mee, the second against M. Lilly, the third against *Martinists*, the fourth against D,

Greene, Nash and Lyly for Harvey was the cause of the first part; *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* of the second; the *Strange News of the Intercepting of Certain Letters* of the third; and old quarrels at Cambridge of the fourth. The second part, in spite of its exaggeration and vituperation, gives us considerable information about Lyly, and should not be neglected—indeed all this series of pamphlets should not—by any careful student of this dramatist. Next, Nash says, came private overtures from Harvey for peace,<sup>1</sup> and in the preface to *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*, 1593, Nash gracefully extended his hand to his opponent. Harvey, however, was tricky and ill-natured, and instead of accepting the apology of Nash, attacked him again in *A New Letter of Notable Contents* (licensed Oct. 1, 1593). Nash, thoroughly disgusted, added a new preface to a fresh edition, early in 1594, of *Christ's Tears*, declaring his readiness to carry on the controversy. Nothing came from him against Harvey until 1596, when his *Have with you to Saffron-Walden* appeared and, if long delayed,<sup>2</sup> was caustic

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*Perne*. Neither are these parts severally distinguished in his order of handling, but, like a Dutch stewd-pot, iumbled altogether, and linsey-wolsey woven one within another." *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*. Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. III. p. 174.

<sup>1</sup> See the address to the 1594 edition of *Christ's Tears*. Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. IV. pp. 3-8.

<sup>2</sup> See Nash's words on the subjects in his works. Vol. III. pp. 27, 36, 37.

enough to make up for lost time. It really gibed and flouted, blackguarded and slandered Harvey to defeat, who in his answer of 1597, *The Trimming of Thomas Nash* (licensed Oct. 11), flounders in a sea of vituperation. June 1, 1599, an order was issued that certain publications, among them all of Nash's and Harvey's books, should be taken wherever found, and none of them printed hereafter.<sup>1</sup>

This examination of the controversy between Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nash brings out some facts as to Lyly pretty clearly. We find, knowing previously that an old difference existed between Lyly and Gabriel Harvey, that Lyly attacked Harvey in *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*; that at about the same time Richard Harvey spoke slightly in print of Lyly, Nash, and the dramatists in general; that Lyly very probably urged Greene and Nash to reply to him, and saw that Gabriel Harvey was not spared when his brother was attacked; that gradually the contest narrowed down to Nash and Harvey as active combatants; and that for nine years after the beginning of the trouble these two kept up the pamphlet war. All this shows that Lyly was certainly a good hater, and that, since others fought so valiantly for him, he had good friends and knew something of the management of men.

Another anti-Martinist pamphlet, *An Almond*

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 146.



*for a Parrat*, has sometimes been assigned to Lyly, but it is hard to see on what evidence. Careful examination of it shows no such resemblances as *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet* offers between its style and that of Lyly. Moreover, the writer speaks of Lyly's pamphlet in words that hardly sound as if the man who wrote them was the author of *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*. "His [Martin's] crazed cause . . . that was earst so bravely encountered by *Pasquin* and *Marphoreus*, and not many moneths since most wittily scofte at by the extemporall endeavour of the pleasant author of *Pap with a hatchet*."<sup>1</sup> Nor do recent editors give it to Lyly. Petheram, who in 1846 edited the pamphlet, assigned it to Thomas Nash;<sup>2</sup> Professor Arber omits it from his list of Lyly's works;<sup>3</sup> Mr. Fleay thinks that it belongs neither to Lyly nor to Nash, but to the anonymous author of *Martin's Month's Mind*.<sup>4</sup>

The years between 1588 and 1590 were, probably, the most successful of Lyly's career. He was evidently well known, and the centre of a group of literary men of the time.<sup>5</sup> Some of

<sup>1</sup> An Almond for a Parrot. (Puritan Discipline Tracts.) London: John Petheram. 1846. P. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*. Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. Chron.

<sup>4</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> "Blessed Euphues, thou onely happy, that hast a train of such good countenances, in thy floorishing greene-motley livery: miserable I, the unhappiest on earth, that

these, for instance, Greene and Lodge, copied his style.<sup>1</sup> Writing very successfully for the St. Paul's boys ;<sup>2</sup> interested in the Marprelate controversy ; stirring up his old adversary, Gabriel Harvey ; he apparently kept somewhat in touch with life at the universities.<sup>3</sup> Apparently he was married

am left desolate. Ah but that might be endured : every mā is not borne, to be leader of a bande : every birde carrieth not Argus eyes displayed in her taile. Fame is not every bodies Sainct." *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1589. Harvey's Works. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 226.

<sup>1</sup> The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare. J. J. Jusserand. Chs. III and IV.

<sup>2</sup> " I am threatened with a Bable, and Martin menaced with a Comedie : a fit motion for a Iester, and a Player, to try what may be done by employemēt of his facultie : Bables and Comedies are parlous fellows to *decipher*, and *discourage men*, (that is the Point) with their wittie flowtes, and learned Ierkes ; Na, if you shake the painted scabbard at me, I have done : and all you, that tender the preservation of your good names, were best to please Pap-hatchet, and see Euphues betimes, for feare lesse he be mooved, or some One of his Apes hired, to make a Playe of you ; and then is your credit quite undone for ever, and ever : Such is the publique reputation of their Playes. He must needes *be discouraged* whom they *decipher*. Better, anger an hundred other, then two such ; that have the Stage at Commandement, and can furnish-out Vices, and Divells at their pleasure." *Pierce's Supererogation*. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 213. See also Nash's words as to *Mother Bombie*, p. cli, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> " But there was a little wag in Cambridge that swore by Saint Seaton, he would so swinge him [Martin] with Sillogismes." *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*, p. 52. Saintsbury.

by Nov. 1589, for Harvey, in the part of *Pierce's Supererogation* dating from that time, jeers at his "witt" as "paunched, like his wive's spindle."<sup>1</sup> In that year, too, as the *Parliamentary Papers* for 1878, containing a list of past members, seem to show, he became a member of Parliament for Hindon. It was a period of activity and success.

In 1589, too, probably belongs the first production of Lyly's play, *Midas*, though it was not printed until 1592. Like *Endymion* and *Sapho and Phao* it pretty plainly allegorizes political matters. Midas, with his love of gold and his lust for conquest, repeatedly suggests Philip II. of Spain.<sup>2</sup> Doubtless, acute Elizabethan observers thought that they saw in other characters figures of the day.<sup>3</sup> In the following speech, Midas evidently refers to the defeat of the Ar-

<sup>1</sup> *Pierce's Supererogation*. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> Note the passage quoted above and "A bridge of gold did I meane to make in that island where all my navy could not make a breach"; "Have I not entised the subjects of my neighbor princes to destroy their naturall kings?" "To what kingdome have I not pretended claime?" Indeed, compare the whole of the long opening speech of *Midas* in Act III. Sc. 1, with Philip's career. See speech of *Midas*, Act IV. Sc. 1, p. 45; speech of *Amintas*, p. 47; of *Martius*, p. 51; of *Midas*, top of p. 66 and on p. 67. Lilly's Works. Vol. II. Fairholt.

<sup>3</sup> For a possible but somewhat forced list of identifications see Oberon's Vision, Halpin, p. 164, note.

mada, and therefore the play was written after August, 1588. "Have I not made the sea to groan under the number of my ships : and have they not perished, that there was not two left to make a number ?" <sup>1</sup> Of 1589 Hume says : "The discomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain." <sup>2</sup> Such a time would be the most fitting for the production of such a play as *Midas*, which, like Greene's *Spanish Masquerado* of 1589, <sup>3</sup> jeers at the defeat of Philip's plans. The following passage in *Pierce's Supererogation* seems to show that *Midas* was written long enough before Nov. 1589 for the reference to it to be generally understood. "Faith, quoth himselfe, thou wilt be caught by thy stile : Indeede what more easie, then to finde the man by his humour, the *Midas* by his eares, the Calfe by his tongue, the goose by his quill, the Playmaker by his stile, the hatchet by the Pap." <sup>4</sup> *Midas* may, then, be assigned to a date between August, 1588, the defeat of the Armada, and November, 1589, the date of Harvey's words. <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Midas*, Act III. Sc. 1. Lilly's Works. Fairholt. Vol. II. p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> History of England. Vol. IV. p. 266. 1850. Boston : Phillips, Sampson & Co.

<sup>3</sup> English Writers. Vol. IX. p. 271. Entered in the Stationers' Register Feb. 1, 1588 (O.S.). Grosart's reprint of it in *Greene's Works* has the date 1589 on the title-page.

<sup>4</sup> *Pierce's Supererogation*. Grosart. Vol. II. p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly we can narrow the limits even more. In

*Mother Bombie*, published in 1594,<sup>1</sup> was also probably produced first in 1589 or 1590. It evidently belongs to the second group of plays, for like *Midas*<sup>2</sup> it is less markedly Euphuistic than *Endymion*, *Alexander and Campaspe*, *Sapho and Phao*, *Gallathea*, and *Love's Metamorphosis*. Nash's praise of *Mother Bombie* in *Have with you to Saffron-Walden*,<sup>3</sup> 1596, at least five years after

Act IV, Sc. 4, Martius says: "For my part I neither care nor wonder, I see all his expeditions for warres are laid in water; for now when he should execute, he begins to consult; and suffers the enemies to bid us good morrow at our owne doores, to whom wee long since might have given the last good-night in their owne beds." The English expedition against the Spanish left Plymouth Apr. 18, 1589. Arriving at Groyn, in Spain, Apr. 21, they besieged it. They set sail for Lisbon May 8. "The 16 day we landed at Peniche [about forty miles from Lisbon] in Portugall." The words of Martius, then,— "suffers the enemies to bid us good morrow at our owne doores,"—seem to mean that Lyly wrote after May, 1589; the words of Harvey that he wrote before Nov. 1589. See Birch's *Memoirs of Eliz.* Hakluyt's *Voyages*. Vol. II. pp. 622, *seq.* Ed. 1810.

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> *Midas* was "played before the Queenes Majestie upon Twelwe Day at Night by the Children of Pauls." Why it is practically useless to try to place such a performance in the *Accounts of the Revels at Court* has been explained in note 1, p. xcvi. The title-page of *Mother Bombie* says only: "As it was sundry times played by the Children of Paul's."

<sup>3</sup> "Then we neede never wish the Playes at *Powles* up again, but if we were wearie with walking, and loth to

the St. Paul's theatre had been closed for a second time, not only shows that it was a decided success, but also suggests, since the comedy was so fresh in his memory, that it was produced not long before the St. Paul's company was dissolved in 1590 or 1591. *Mother Bombie* is a particularly interesting play, both because it is really amusing and because in it Lyly gives up his allegorical style and writes a comedy on the model of Plautus or Terence. If such a departure from his usual method gained special success, is it not probable that *Mother Bombie* followed rather than preceded *Midas*? Success in a new departure means ordinarily either a repetition of the form that brought success or new experiments, not a return to old methods. Yet, if Lyly wrote *Midas* after *Mother Bombie*, he must have turned from success in a new path to an old road. Apparently, then, *Mother Bombie* was first given to the public between the production of *Midas* in 1589 and the closing of the St. Paul's theatre at some date preceding October, 1591.

That the John Lyly who four times between 1589 and 1602 was a member of Parliament<sup>1</sup>—for Hindon in 1589; for Aylesbury in 1593; for Appleby in 1597; and for Aylesbury a second

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goe too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead: which would be a merrier Comedie than ever was old *Mother Bomby*." Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. III. pp. 66, 67.

<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Papers. Vol. LXII, pts. 1-3.

time in 1601—was John Lyly the dramatist seems worthy the acceptance given it by Mr. Lee in his article on Lyly in the *Dict. of National Biography*.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that all of these are small places;<sup>2</sup> that two, Hindon and Appleby,

<sup>1</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*: Lyly. See also Athenæ Cantab. Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> In 1814 a writer said: "Hindon (Wiltshire) is an ancient borough and market town, situated at the distance of ninety-six miles from London. Most of the houses are ranged in one street, which is of considerable length. . . Hindon has returned two members to Parliament since the 27th year of Henry VI. . . The voters are estimated at two hundred and ten in number, and are chiefly in the interest of William Beckford, Esq., M. P. of Fonthill Abbey. . . Hindon, at an early period, was the lordship of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick." In 1811 Hindon had 781 persons in it. *Beauties of England and Wales*. John Britton. Vol. xv. 1814.

"Aylesbury (Bucks)," Britton says, "consists of several streets and lanes irregularly built. . . In the reign of Henry the Eighth, the manor was purchased by Sir John Baldwin, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, of the heir of the Earl of Wilts and Ormond, to whom it had descended from the Fitzpiers, Earls of Essex. It afterwards became the property of the Packingtons, one of whom married the daughter of Sir John Baldwin, and has regularly descended to the present Sir John Packington. . . The town was made a borough by charter and empowered to send members to Parliament on the 14th of January, 1353-4." Vol. I. pp. 343-46. Present population, 9000.

Of Appleby (Westmoreland) Britton says: "It was answered to an inquisition, made in 1555, respecting arrears of its fee farm rent, that though the town, since

were disfranchised by the Reform Bill of 1832,<sup>1</sup> the third, Aylesbury, in 1885 ; that the *History of Aylesbury* says that its John Lyly had no "local interest" ;<sup>2</sup> that all of these places were in the gift of great families ; and that by at least two of these families Lyly the dramatist was probably well known. Hindon was controlled by the Warwick family ; Leicester's brother was the Earl of Warwick ; Appleby was controlled by the Pembrokes ; Leicester's sister was the Countess of Pembroke. The favor of powerful friends, therefore, probably gave Lyly his position in Parliament. How easy it would have been for him to gain a seat in this way the following extract from the history of Aylesbury not twenty years before Lyly first sat in Parliament for the borough will show : "How completely this

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it was last burnt (1388), had been gradually repairing, yet nine parts of it were still in ruins ; whereupon its rent was changed from twenty to two marks a year. . . . At present (1814) it consists of one broad street, irregularly built on the slope of a steep hill. . . It has 711 inhabitants. This borough has sent two members to Parliament since the twenty-sixth of Edward I." The Countess of Pembroke seems to have controlled it. Britton. Vol. xv.

<sup>1</sup> The Black Book.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Gross of Harvard University is the editor's authority for the statement as to the disfranchisement of Aylesbury ; Mrs. Gibbs, widow of the compiler of the *History of Aylesbury*, for that as to Lyly's lack of local interest in Aylesbury.



town was in possession of this family [the Packingtons] will appear from the following remarkable letter, preserved in the Chapel of the Rolls, among the returns of Parliament writs of the fourteenth of Elizabeth: 'To all Christian people, to whom this present writing shall come: I, Dame Dorothy Packington, late wife of Sir John Packington, Knight, lord and owner of the town of Aylesbury, send greeting. Know ye me, the said Dorothy Packington, to have chosen, named, and appointed my trusty and well-beloved Thomas Lichfield and George Burden, Esqs., to be my Burgesses of my said town of Aylesbury. And whatever the said Thomas and George, Burgesses, shall do in the service of the Queen's Highness in that present Parliament to be holden at Westminster the 8th of May next ensuing the date hereof, I the same Dorothy Packington do ratify and approve to be of my own act as fully and wholly as if I were witness or present there. In witness whereof, to these presents, I have set my seal, the 4th day of May in the 14th year of the reign of my Sovereign, Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen,' etc."<sup>1</sup>

Before October, 1591, however, this prosperous career of the dramatist met a severe check. From the preface of the printer to *Endymion*, licensed Oct. 4, 1591, we learn that the company

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<sup>1</sup> Britton. Vol. I.

at St. Paul's was dissolved before that date. Just when this "dissolving" took place, it is hard to decide. In the natural course of things, the MSS. of the dissolved theatre would not come immediately into the hands of the publisher: the company must first be entirely sure of the finality of its dissolution. Therefore, the date can probably be put forward at least a month or two before October. Gabriel Harvey's admission, written not later than Nov. 5, 1589, of the success of Lyly's work as a dramatist<sup>1</sup> shows that the St. Paul's theatre was flourishing in the fall of 1589. In *Pierce's Supererogation*, Harvey wrote as if *Midas* were the latest success of Lyly.<sup>2</sup> We have seen, too, that probably *Mother Bombie* followed it.<sup>3</sup> If it did, the time of the closing of the theatre narrows to a date between the very end of 1589 and the summer of 1591.

The contents of an undated begging letter to the Queen from John Lyly seems to refer to this "dissolving" of the St. Paul's company:—  
*"A Petic'on of John Lilly to the Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup>."*

'Tempora si numeres quæ nos numeramus  
 Non venit ante suam nostra querela diem.'

"Most gracious and dread soueraigne, I dare not pester yo<sup>r</sup> highnes with many words, and want witt to wrapp upp much matter in fewe. This age epitomies the pater noster thrust into the compasse of a penny; the world into the

<sup>1</sup> See p. cxlviii, note 2.    <sup>2</sup> See p. cxxxviii.    <sup>3</sup> See p. clii.

modell of a tenice ball ; all science molted into sentence. I would I were so compendious as to expresse my hopes, my fortunes, my ouertharts, in two sillables, as marchants do riches in fewe ciphers, but I feare to comitt the error I discomend, tediousnes ; like one that vowed to search out what tyme was, spent all his, and knewe y<sup>t</sup> not. I was enterteyned yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>s S'vant by yo<sup>r</sup> owne gracious fauour, strengthened with condicions, that I should ayme all my courses at the Reuells (I dare not saye with a promise, but a hopefull Item to the rev'con) for w<sup>ch</sup> these 10 yeres I have attended with an unwearyed patience, and nowe I knowe not what Crabb tooke me for an Oyster, that in the midst of yo<sup>r</sup> sun-shine of your most gracious aspect, hath thrust a stone betweene the shells to eate me aliue that onely liue on dead hopes. If yo<sup>r</sup> sacred Ma<sup>ty</sup>e thinke me unworthy, and that, after x yeares tempest, I must att the Court suffer shipwrack of my tyme, my wittes, my hopes, vouchsafe in yo<sup>r</sup> neuer-erring judgment, some planck or refer to wafte me into a country, where in my sadd and settled devoc'on I may, in euery corner of a thatcht cottage, write praiers instead of plaies ; prayer for your longe and prosp'rous life, and a repentaunce that I haue played the foole so longe, and yett like

' Quod petimus poena est, nec etiam miser esse recuso,  
Sed precor ut possem mitius esse miser.'"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1877, fol. 71.

The sentence, "Now I know not what Crabbe tooke me for an Oyster, that in the midst of yo<sup>r</sup> sun-shine of your most gracious aspect, hath thrust a stone betweene the shells to eate me alive that only live on dead hopes," shows that Lyly had in the midst of success met with an unexpected fall. We have already seen that Lyly, during the period just before the St. Paul's theatre was closed, was at the height of his prosperity.<sup>1</sup> The phrases "After x yeares tempest, I must att the Court suffer shipwracke of my tyme, my wittes, my hopes," and "write praiers instead of plays," are very apt, if we suppose that the letter was written just after the St. Paul's theatre was closed and the boys, consequently, ceased to act at court. Indeed, to what other period in Lyly's career will the references of this letter apply? From 1591 to 1600 the St. Paul's theatre was closed and the boys did not act at court. The Chapel boys apparently did not act in any theatre between 1584 and 1597; they did not appear at court between 1584 and 1601.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, then, between the closing of the St. Paul's theatre and 1600 Lyly could hardly have complained that in "the midst" of the Queen's favor he was suddenly cast down. The only earlier time to which this letter could refer would be 1584 and the first three months of 1585, when the children's com-

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<sup>1</sup> Pp, cxlvii-clv.

<sup>2</sup> P, cxxxii.

panies were out of favor. But Lyly speaks of ten years of waiting for the reversion of the Mastership of the Revels ; and if his letter was written in 1584 or 1585, that would carry his entrance into the Queen's service back to 1574 or 1575. We have seen, however, that the evidence does not favor this date, but points to the summer or the fall of 1580 as the time when the Queen "enterteyned" him as her servant.<sup>1</sup> Ten years from that date means, if Lyly spoke with great exactness,—which is not probable,—the summer or fall of 1590; if he gave dates roughly, any time between the end of 1589 and the autumn of 1591. Another expression in the letter, if it does not further narrow the limits to be assigned for the time of the "dissolving," at least helps to corroborate the dates first given. Lyly wrote, "This age epitomies the pater noster thrust into the compasse of a penny," evidently referring to some feat of printing that had stirred the admiration of the public. Such a wonder, however, soon loses its interest and for only a short time can a reference to it be suggestive. When, therefore, we find Thomas Nash in 1589, in his preface to Greene's *Menaphon*,<sup>2</sup> using practically the

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<sup>1</sup> Pp. xxiii *seq.* and xc-xcii.

<sup>2</sup> "A newe fashion amongst our Nation, to vaunt the pride of contraction in euerie manuarie action: in so much, that the Pater noster, which was woont to fill a sheete of paper, is written in the compasse of a pennie." Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. I. p. xix.

same illustration, we have some right to suspect that the feat in printing was a fresh interest in the public mind when he wrote, and that Lyly's reference to it was not much later in time. The allusions of the letter, then, fit the closing of the St. Paul's theatre; the time-references accord with earlier evidence as to the entrance of Lyly into the Queen's service; and one expression suggests that it was written not long after 1589. In brief, the letter seems to belong somewhere between Nov. 5, 1589, and Oct. 1, 1591, and the evidence slightly favors 1590 or 1591 as compared with late 1589.

Three years after this letter, Lyly wrote another to the Queen. It is as follows:—

*“John Lillies Second Petic'on to the Queene.*

“Most gracious and dread soueraigne, tyme cannot worke my petic'ons, nor my petic'ons the tyme. After many yeares seruice y<sup>t</sup> pleased yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>tie</sup> to except against tents and toyles: I wish that for tennts I might putt in tenements, so should I be eased of some toyles, some lands, some good fines or forfeitures, that should fall by the just fall of these most false traitors; that seeing nothing will come by the Revells, I may play upon the Rebels. Thirteene yeres your highnes seruant, but yet nothing. Twenty freinds, that though they saye they will be sure, I finde them sure to be slowe. A thowsand hopes, but all nothing; a hundred promises, but

yet nothing. Thus casting upp the inventory of my friends, hopes, promises, and tymes, the summa totalis amounteth to just nothing. My last will is shorter than myne invenc'on, but three legacies, patience to my creditors, melancholie without measure to my friends, and beggerie without shame to my familie.

'Si placet hoc merui quod ô tua fulmina cessent  
Virgo parens princeps.'

"In all humilitie I entreate that I may dedicate to your sacred Ma<sup>tie</sup> Lillie de tristib<sup>s</sup>, wherein shal be seene patience, labours, and misfortunes.

'Quorum si singula nostrum  
Frangere non poterant, poterant tamen omnia mentem.'

"The last and the least, that if I bee borne to haue nothing, I may haue a protecc'on to pay nothings, w<sup>ch</sup> suite is like his that haveing followed the Court tenn yeaes for recompence of his service, comitted a robberie, and tooke it out in a p'rdon."<sup>1</sup>

The "thirteene yeres" of this letter and the "10 yeres" of the first show clearly their relations in time. The difference between the tone of the first petition and that of the second is pretty convincing evidence that in the time intervening between the two petitions Lyly's fortunes had grown much worse: the first is a

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<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1877, fol. 71.

self-contained expostulation; the second shows indignation, even despair. If the first was written in 1590 or 1591, the second, of course, belongs to 1593 or 1594. What favors the date 1593 for this letter is that Lyly's own words—"Twenty freinds, that though they saye they will be sure, I find them sure to be slowe. A thousand hopes, but all nothing; a hundred promises, but yet nothing"—show that he had been pressing his friends to aid him, and that in 1593<sup>1</sup> we find John Lyly chosen to represent in Parliament Aylesbury, a new seat for him and a place that some years before had been notoriously a gift in the hands of the Packingtons.<sup>2</sup> Had he had this position when he wrote the letter, it is a little surprising that it is so completely hopeless in tone. Moreover, the seat is just the kind of aid for which he could ask these friends who were "sure to be slowe." When, however, we make allowance for the barefaced and not always strictly truthful way in which needy courtiers begged from the Queen; this evidence for 1593 does not seem very convincing as opposed to some evidence which favors 1594 as the date of the second letter.

Some attempt has been made to identify "these most false traitors" whose "forfeitures" are asked for by Lyly,<sup>3</sup> but this is an almost im-

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<sup>1</sup> Parliamentary Papers. 1878. Vol LXII. pts. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> See p. clv.

<sup>3</sup> Dict. Nat. Biog : Lyly.



possible task, for in any year between 1587 and 1595 "traitors," "rebels," and "forfeitures" enough may be found. It is, however, noteworthy that the winter of 1593-94 was a particularly good time for such a request as Lyly's, for just then all the enemies of the Queen, after a period of special activity, were temporarily suppressed, and the "fines" and "forfeitures" must have been many. A note in the *State Papers*, dated March 14, 1594, to a document concerning the conspiracy of Dr. Lopez points out that it will be seen from what precedes "how justly Lopez, Ferrara and Eman. Louis were condemned for the highest and most horrible treasons: how by God's marvellous goodness, Her Majesty has been preserved, and how barbarously the attempt has been furthered by persons of high estate, the judgment of whom is left to the Almighty, the revenger of such horrible feats; that it might be added, to show the abundance of God's favour to Her Majesty, and the malice of her enemies, that about the time of the conspiring [Dr. Lopez was arrested some time after his accomplices, Jan. 21, 1594] of this horrible treason, there are several persons, both English and Irish, corrupted with money, and animated by English Jesuits with a promise of salvation, to enterprise the Queen's death, of which number divers have been taken, some condemned, and some spared, having confessed great sorrow for their attempt, and detested their setters on, and

their devilish ghostly fathers.”<sup>1</sup> Apparently, then, Dec. 1593, or better still, the first two months of 1594 would have been an especially fitting time for such an appeal as Lyly’s.

To sum up, then. The first letter might have been written very late in 1589, in 1590 or 1591, but the evidence favors 1590 or early in 1591; the second letter could belong to late 1593 or early 1594, but seems a little more likely to have been written in early 1594. The two letters themselves, then, do not offer any conclusive evidence for a choice between 1590–1593, and 1591–1594 as their dates. Two additional bits of evidence, however, seem to show that the latter set is probably correct.

In the first place, the words of the printer of the first edition of *Endymion* (licensed Oct. 4, 1591), “Since the plays in Pauls were dissolved, there are certain comedies come into my hands,”<sup>2</sup> refer to this “dissolving” as if it were recent, not a year or two old. Moreover, we have seen that the children who in August, 1592,—it is by no means improbable, as has been shown,<sup>3</sup> that they were the St. Paul’s boys,—give Nash’s *Summer’s Last Will and Testament* before “My Lord” were very anxious, either because of some great disfavor recently shown to them

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<sup>1</sup> State Papers. Domestic. 1591–94. Vol. ccxlviii. No. 26.

<sup>2</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. Chron.

<sup>3</sup> See note 2, p. cxxix.

or to some other company of children, to ward off any misinterpretations of their words or actions. The speaker of the prologue says: "We, afraid to look on the imaginary serpent of Envy, painted in men's affections, have ceased to tune any music of mirth to your ears, this twelvemonth."<sup>1</sup> The last part of the sentence may be interpreted in two ways: that the boys had not appeared at "My Lord's" country-seat for a year, or, if "your" is taken as referring to the audience as the general public, that the boys had not "tuned any music of mirth this twelvemonth" anywhere for "your" (the general public's) ears. The latter would be proper enough in this case, since at this entertainment in the country, when the plague had driven people from the city, many of those most frequenting the theatres were doubtless present. In each case they had not acted because either they had been in serious trouble themselves in 1591, or some other company of children had been so severely treated in that year that this company was scared into silence. Now we know that in 1590 or 1591 the St. Paul's boys were "dissolved" as a company, and we have seen reason to suspect that royal disfavor led to this. It certainly looks, then, as if the St. Paul's boys were referred to here, and we must place the dissolving in 1591 apparently at some time during the sum-

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<sup>1</sup> Old Plays. Dodsley. Ed. 1825. Vol. ix. p. 15.

mer. Lyly's first letter was evidently written just after the closing of the St. Paul's Theatre, and the evidence just considered would place it between the late summer of 1591 and October of that year. The second letter, written three years later, is thus placed in 1594, and we have seen reasons to believe that the first quarter of that year would have been a particularly fitting time for the appeal it contained.<sup>1</sup> All this evidence seems to mean, then, that the St. Paul's company was dissolved in the summer of 1591, that late in the summer or very early in the autumn of that year Lyly wrote his first letter to the Queen, and that his second letter should bear a date in the first quarter of 1594.

Evidently Her Majesty's displeasure ("y<sup>t</sup> pleased yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> to except against tents and toyles") caused the closing of the theatre, but the reason for this displeasure we do not know. Mr. Fleay thinks that it was the anger of the Queen at the satire on her in *The Woman in the Moone* and some intermeddling with state affairs in *Midas*.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, there seems to be satire on the Queen in *The Woman in the Moone*, but it is at least doubtful, as will be pointed out in detail later when the position of this play among Lyly's works is considered, whether it was written before the theatre in Paul's was closed.<sup>3</sup> Lyly's

<sup>1</sup> See p. clxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> For the satire and for this discussion, see pp. clxxi-clxxiii.

own words in his second petition—"in the midst of y<sup>r</sup> sun-shine of your most gracious aspect"—seem to mean that the "dissolving" came unexpectedly when he supposed himself to be in high favor with the Queen. Granted for the moment that this ignorance of any cause of offence was assumed, what at the time of his greatest prosperity, could have betrayed him into such folly as the biting censure of the Queen in *The Woman in the Moone*. On the other hand, after the theatre had been closed unjustly, as Lyly thought, and after his claims had been, as his second petition shows, neglected for three years, he had a cause for anger, and might have been reckless enough frankly to censure the Queen. It does not seem wise, therefore, to assume that trouble over *The Woman in the Moon* closed the St. Paul's theatre.

Mr. Fleay's supposition in regard to *Midas* and the suppression of the St. Paul's company gains some support from the following words in the *Dedication of An Almond for a Parrat*, 1590: "A man cannot write *Midas habet aures asininas* in great Roman letters but he shall be in danger of a further displeasure."<sup>1</sup> The Latin is the phrase which the reeds whisper in English in Lyly's play,<sup>2</sup> and this may be a reference to some trouble caused him by *Midas*.

<sup>1</sup> An Almond for a Parrot. Petheram. p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Act IV. Sc. 4; Act V. Sc. 1, Vol. II, pp. 53-55. Fairholt,

Even, however, if this be granted, "further displeasure" by no means necessarily implies that the original "displeasure" was anything so severe as the suppression of the St. Paul's company. Moreover, the allusion is so vague that it may readily be given other interpretations than that of Mr. Fleay. If given the meaning he attaches to the words, it places *Midas* after *Mother Bombie*, and so contradicts the conclusion previously reached as to the order of the plays;<sup>1</sup> and it is hard to see why this comedy which gives a satirical picture of Philip, likely greatly to please the public of its day, and pays fulsome compliments to England as Lesbos,<sup>2</sup> should have roused the anger of a Queen who in 1587 saw fit to permit the fitting out of an expedition to aid the Portuguese against the Spaniards, and of ships to capture the treasure galleons of Spain.<sup>3</sup>

One other supposition there is in regard to the cause of the closing of this theatre,—that the company gave offence by its share in the Martin Marprelate controversy. We know that the boys took part in it, for in *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*, Lyly, speaking of the way in which, by Sept., 1589, Martin had been caricatured on the stage, said in a note: "If it be shewed

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<sup>1</sup> p. clii.

<sup>2</sup> Act IV. Sc. 2. Act V. Sc. 3. Vol. II. pp. 47, 57. Fairholt.

<sup>3</sup> Hume, Vol. IV. pp. 267, 268.

at Pauls, it will cost you foure pence."<sup>1</sup> Severe measures to repress the controversy were taken in 1590, the year to which evidence seems to point as the time of the closing of the St. Paul's theatre. In that year the Marprelate press was seized at Manchester, and Udall and Penry, who had been prominent on the Puritan side, were thrown into prison.<sup>2</sup> Possibly the St. Paul's boys in some way fatally involved themselves at this time.

It will be seen that though the theory in regard to *The Woman in the Moone* may perhaps be thrown out, we can reach no final decision in regard to the other two hypotheses, and, therefore, that the cause of the royal displeasure must be left undetermined.

Of Lyly from 1590 we know but little. Apparently 1590-1593 were years of waning fortunes for him; the second letter to the Queen shows that. During this time, if we may believe Gabriel Harvey, he set Robert Greene and Thomas Nash upon the pedant, and shifted the carrying on of his quarrel with Harvey to the shoulders of Nash. In 1591 *Endymion* and new editions of *Alexander and Campaspe* and *Sapho and Phao* were printed; in 1592 *Gallathea* and *Midas* were published.<sup>3</sup> In 1593 his fortunes

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<sup>1</sup> Pappewithan-Hatchet. Saintsbury. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> English Writers. Vol. ix. pp. 302, 303.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. ii. pp. 36, 37.

revived a little and he became a member for Aylesbury.<sup>1</sup> In 1594 *Mother Bombie* was printed, and in 1595 *The Woman in the Moone* was licensed, but was not printed until 1597.<sup>2</sup> The title-page of this play reads: "As it was presented before Her Highnesse by John Lyllie, Maister of Artes."<sup>3</sup> It is particularly interesting because it is not Euphuistic in style and is written in rather graceful blank verse that occasionally breaks into very genuine poetry.

On the chronological position of this play among the writings of Lyly there has been considerable difference of opinion. The last three lines of the prologue, which apparently offer a clue, have been differently interpreted. They are:

"Remember all is but a poet's dreame  
The first he had in Phœbus' holy bowre,  
But not the last unlesse the first displease."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Fairholt thought,<sup>5</sup> as does Steinhäuser,<sup>6</sup> that these lines mean that *The Woman in the Moone* was Lyly's first play; Professor Arber does not commit himself;<sup>7</sup> and Mr. Fleay and

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers. 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Fairholt. Vol. II. p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem.* p. 151.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem.* vol. I. p. xxvi.

<sup>6</sup> John Lyly als Dramatiker. p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. Chron.



Mr. Sidney Lee<sup>1</sup> interpret the lines as meaning that the comedy was Lyly's first experiment with a play in verse. If it was Lyly's first play, it was written before September, 1579, the probable date of the production of *Endymion*, and it is odd that Lyly, at a time when the two books of the *Euphues* and the comedy, *Endymion*, show that he was the slave of a particular style which disappeared only gradually in his later work should have thrown off for a moment the shackles and have written a play free from any sign of Euphuism. Moreover, as Mr. Fleay justly points out, the blank verse of *The Woman in the Moone* is too easy in flow for 1579.<sup>2</sup> Comparison of it with specimens of blank verse from *Gorboduc* to *Tamburlaine* will show the truth of Mr. Fleay's statement.

1590 is the date which he assigns to the play, and certainly the objections just raised would not apply if the play was written in that year. By 1591 *Mother Bombie* had been written, in which Lyly showed that he was freeing himself from the bonds of Euphuism; the great success of Marlowe with blank verse in *Tamburlaine*, and the increasing favor shown the form by the public, might well have aroused Lyly, one of the most successful dramatists of the day, to try his

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<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 42; Dict. Nat. Biog.: Lyly.

<sup>2</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., *idem*.

hand at blank verse ; and the easy flow of his lines would not be surprising if they were written in 1590. On the other hand, it is odd that *The Woman in the Moone*, unlike all the other plays of Lyly given between 1585 and 1590, does not bear the statement that it was acted by the children of Paul's. Moreover, the play does not contain the fulsome flattery of Elizabeth usual in Lyly's comedies ; instead, Pandora in the last act chooses to live with Cynthia,—the goddess who usually, with this dramatist, receives the compliments intended for the Queen,—because

“ *Cynthia* made me idle, mutable, forgetfull,  
Foolish, fickle, franticke, madde ;  
These be the humors that content me best,  
And therefore will I stay with *Cynthia*.”<sup>1</sup>

At the end Nature says :—

“ Now rule, *Pandora*, in fayre *Cynthia*'s steede,  
And make the moone inconstant like thyselfe.”<sup>2</sup>

In just the same indirect way, then, that Elizabeth is complimented as Cynthia in *Endymion*, she is here, apparently, blamed as “ idle, mutable, forgetfull,” surprising adjectives for the court dramatist to apply to the Queen. Certainly, he would not have written without cause lines so daringly ill-tempered, and where, since by Lyly's own words the disbanding of the St.

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<sup>1</sup> Fairholt. Vol. II. p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*. p. 211.

Paul's company came unexpectedly "in the midst of yo<sup>r</sup> sunshine of your [the Queen's] most gracious aspect,"<sup>1</sup> is the cause to be found before 1591? On the other hand, the lines accord well with the but ill-suppressed anger of the letter of 1593.<sup>2</sup> Is it not possible, then, that *The Woman in the Moone*, like Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, was given at some private entertaining of the Queen, after both the children's companies had ceased to act publicly?<sup>3</sup> If it was given under such conditions, Lyly, called upon by some nobleman to aid him in entertainment of the Queen, smarting under what he considered the injustice of his broken career, and after the second petition, in despair of redress, might naturally have written the satire on the Queen. For such an occasion, too, a special company may have been gathered together. Such a supposition, certainly, accounts for the absence from the title-page of the name of the company which gave it.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. clvii.

<sup>2</sup> See p. clx.

<sup>3</sup> It is, perhaps, worth noting that though *The Woman in the Moone* was licensed in 1595, it was not printed until 1597. This "staying" of the printing, when taken with the satire on the Queen in the play, suggests that royal interference caused the "staying." Certainly, however, such interference by the Queen would be much more natural if the offence was recent, rather than five years old, as would be the case if we put *The Woman in the Moone* in 1590,

June 3, 1596, *Lillies Light*, which probably had some connection with the dramatist, was licensed.<sup>1</sup> If it was published, it is now not extant. In this year Nash in *Have with You to Saffron-Walden* refers as follows to some work of Lyly's directed against Harvey, written but not then published: "As for him whom (so artlesse and against the haire of anie similitude or coherence) hee calls *the arte of figges*,<sup>2</sup> he shall not need long to call for his figs, for hee will bee choakt soone inough with them; they having lyne ripe by him readie gathered (wanting nothing but pressing) anie time this twelve month."<sup>3</sup> Possibly there is some connection between this work and *Lillies Light*.

Some years ago J. P. Collier found in the *Register* of St. Bartholomew the Less some entries in regard to a "John Lyllie," whom he believed to be the dramatist.<sup>4</sup> Sept. 10, 1596, "John, the sonne of John Lillye. gent., was baptized"; Aug. 20, 1597, this son was buried at St. Botolph, Bishopsgate; July 3, 1600, "John, sonne of John Lillye, gent., was baptized"; May

<sup>1</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr., vol. II. p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> "Saint Fame is one of the notorious nicke-names he gives thee [Nash], as also under *the arte of figges* (to cleave him from the crowne to the waste with a quip) he shadowes *Master Lilly*." *Have with You to Saffron-Walden*. Nash's Works. Grosart. Vol. III. p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Biblio. Cata., vol. I. p. 503, ed. 1865.

21, 1603, "Frances, daughter of John Lillye, gent., was baptized." If these entries refer to children of John Lyly, the dramatist, there must have been others, for we have seen that in 1589 he was already married, and in the letter to the Queen, assigned to 1593, he says: "My last will is shorter than myne inven'con. . . . beggarie without shame to my family."

In 1597 *The Woman in the Moone* was printed. In this year Lyly became a member of Parliament for Appleby.<sup>1</sup> He wrote at this time some prefatory lines for Henry Lock's, or Lok's, *Eclesiastes, otherwise called the Preacher*.

"AD SERENISSIMAM REGINAM ELIZABETHAM.

"Regia Virgineae soboles dicata parenti,

Virgo animo, patriae mater, Regina quid optas?

Chara domi, metuenda foris, Regina quid optas?

Pulchra, pia es, princeps, foelix, Regina quid optas?

Coelum est? Certò et serò sit Regina quod optas.

"IOH. LILY.

"AD LOCKUM EIUSDEM.

"Ingenio et genio locuples, die Locke quid addam?

Addo, quod ingenium quondam preciosius auro."<sup>2</sup>

The establishing of the Children of the Chapel Royal as a dramatic company at the Blackfriars Theatre in 1597 doubtless aided Lyly's fortunes, for they certainly gave one of his old plays, *Love's Metamorphosis*,<sup>3</sup> and probably revived others. In

<sup>1</sup> Parl. Papers. 1878.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in English Reprints: Lyly. Chron., p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> "Love's Metamorphosis. A wittie and courtly pas-

1600 *The Maid's Metamorphosis* was published anonymously,<sup>1</sup> a play "sundrie times acted by the Children of Powles."<sup>2</sup> Until recently it has usually been assigned to Lyly. The apparent grounds for this assignment are these: The title resembles *Love's Metamorphosis*; Ascanio, the hero, lies down to sleep somewhat as Endymion does, though neither his sleep nor his awaking are like Endymion's; the pages consult an oracle as Phao does in *Sapho and Phao*; and there is a transformation as in *Endymion*, *Gallathea*, and *Love's Metamorphosis*.

Such coincidences between this play and Lyly's work point, however, not to one author for both, but rather to an imitator who in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* crowds his work with incidents similar to those which, in the more powerful hand, were singly enough for one play. *The Maid's Metamorphosis* was, too, given first in a leap-year<sup>3</sup> and at a time of drought.<sup>4</sup> Between 1580, when Lyly was advised to try for

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toral, written by Mr. John Lyllie. First played by the Children of Paules, and now by the Children of the Chappell." Title-page of edition of 1601. Fairholt. Vol. II. p. 215.

<sup>1</sup> English Reprints: Lyly. Chron., p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> A Collection of Old English Plays. A. H. Bullen. Privately Printed, 1882. Vol. I. p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*. p. 147. "*Joculo*. Maister, be contented; this is leape yeare."

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*. p. 117. "*Joculo*. There is such a dearth at this time. God amend it."

the Mastership of the Revels, and his death, usually assigned to 1606,<sup>1</sup> there were but two leap-years when Lyly could have produced this play with the St. Paul's boys for its actors. 1584 was an idle year for them; so were 1592 and 1596; in 1604 plays like Lyly's had been replaced by those of the masters of the Elizabethan drama.<sup>2</sup> 1588 and 1600 are the leap-years which remain. The first is not named as a time of drought; the second is.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, any reader will see that the author of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* felt strongly the influence of Spenser, especially in *The Faery Queen*. Descriptions in it and special lines were in his mind as he wrote.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, *The Faery Queen* is the inspira-

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. clxxiv and clxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. of Stage. Fleay. p. 154. In *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (1600) *Brabant Junior* says:

"I hope one day

The boys will come into the Court of requestes."

*Brabant Senior*:

"I, and they had good plaies. But they produce  
Such mustie fopperies of antiquitie,  
And do not sute the humorous ages backs,  
With clothes in fashion."

The School of Shakspeare. Richard Simpson. Vol. II.  
p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. of Stage. Fleay. p. 163. Also Stow. 790 a.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the Cave of Morpheus (Bullen, p. 120) with the House of Morpheus, Book I. Canto 1 of *The Faery Queen*; also

"The warbling Birds doo from their prettie biities  
Unite in concord as the brooke distilles"

(Bullen, 156) with Book I. Canto 12, line 71.

tion of *The Maid's Metamorphosis* in much the same way that *The Dial for Princes* is the inspiration of the *Euphues*, his *Anatomie of Wit*, or the *Diana* of Montemayor of Sidney's *Arcadia*. Such imitation usually appears only after the book copied has been some time before the public; but if this play was written by Lyly in 1588, we must suppose, since the first six books of *The Faery Queen* were not published until 1590,<sup>1</sup> that before that date Lyly knew it well in MS. On the other hand, 1600 was a year of drought, and in that year copying of the very successful *Faery Queen*, then for ten years well known to the public, would have been natural enough. If, then, the play is Lyly's, it was, probably, a late product of his pen.

The vocabulary of the play, however, is not Lyly's; the pastoral element in it does not suggest, as does Lyly's work in *Gallathea*, *Love's Metamorphosis*, and *The Woman in the Moone*, the stiff, unnatural pastorals of Spain, but the ease and the freshness of Spenser's work. Does it not seem strange, too, that Lyly, after he had done more than any one else to establish prose as the means of expression for comedy and had kept abreast of the time by writing successfully in blank verse, reverted, late in life, to the jingling rhymes that suggest the early work of Greene and Peele? Recent criticism, too, does not give the play to Lyly. Mr. Gosse assigns it to Day, and Mr.

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<sup>1</sup> English Writers. Vol. IX. p. 317.



Bullen supports the assignment ;<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fleay, who formerly held that Lyly wrote the play,<sup>2</sup> has recently<sup>3</sup> withdrawn from him all except the page scenes, making out a pretty strong case for Samuel Daniel as author of the play, and the marriage of Lord Harbert and Lady Anne Russell, June 16, 1600, as the occasion when the play was first given. It is just in the page scenes, however, that Mr. Bullen sees one of the traces of John Day, and comparison of them with similar scenes in Lyly's work shows that they lack his lightness of touch, and are more often and more decidedly coarse—in a word they seem more like imitations than originals.

In 1601 *Love's Metamorphosis* was printed.<sup>4</sup> In the same year Lyly became for a second time a member of Parliament for Aylesbury.<sup>5</sup> Nov. 30, 1606, "John Lyllie, gent., was buried" says the *Register of St. Bartholomew's*.<sup>6</sup>

The last ten years of Lyly's life, even if he was well provided for through the kindness of the friends who were "sure to be slowe," could hardly have been wholly happy, for his was the lot of the writer who sees the public which once

<sup>1</sup> A Collection of Old English Plays. Bullen. Vol. I. pp. 99, 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeariana*. Vol. IV. p. 546.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Eng. Dr. Vol. II. pp. 324, 325.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*. p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Parl. Papers. 1878.

<sup>6</sup> Biblio. Cata. J. P. Collier. Vol. I. p. 503, ed. 1865.

praised and copied his work outgrow it and replace it with new forms. Euphuism was out of fashion before 1600; during the long silence in public of the St. Paul's boys from 1590 to 1600 the public taste in plays changed, and when, at the reopening of their theatre, they revived some of their former successes, the public held them to be "musty fopperies of antiquitie."<sup>1</sup> By 1600 Lyly's work was of the past.

For a long time Blount's words in praise of Lyly in the first collected edition of his plays (1632), "Our Nation are in his debt, for a new English which he first taught them,"<sup>2</sup> were accepted as strictly true, but recent critical research has shown that Gabriel Harvey came nearer the truth when he wrote: "Young Euphues hatched the egges, that his elder freendes laide."<sup>3</sup> The model for Lyly's style was the *Dial for Princes* of Don Antonio de Guevara, Bishop of Guadix and Mendoza, published in Spain in 1529. Numerous editions of it were printed, and it was translated into many languages. The first English version, that of Lord Berners, appeared in 1534. Fourteen more editions of this translation appeared between 1534 and 1588. In 1557 Sir Thomas North issued a new translation, based upon an augmented version of

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<sup>1</sup> See extract from *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, p. clxxvii, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *To the Reader*.

<sup>3</sup> *Six Court Comedies*. 1632.

Guevara's work. This translation also went through many editions. Other works of Guevara in the same *alto estilo* were given to English readers by Sir Francis Bryan, Tymme, Fenton, Savage, and Hellowes. "Guevara, impressed with the greatness of such Latin authors as Cicero, conceived the idea of rivalling them by inventing a style in which rhetorical finish should be achieved by using lavishly the well-known figures of pointed antithesis and parisonic balanced clauses, in connection with a general climactic structure of the sentence or period, the emphatic or antithetic words being marked by rhyme or assonance. . . . In its contents Euphues, treating both parts as one book, is a mere imitation of North's translation of Guevara. . . . In style Lyly far outstripped his master. He carries the device of antithesis to such a pitch that word balances word, phrase balances phrase, with the monotonous regularity of a pendulum. Not unfrequently the balancing words contain exactly the same number of letters! He abounds in the rhetorical question. To Guevara's style he adds two features: *a*, play on words, often amounting to downright punning; *b*, alliteration. (A third peculiarity of Lyly, his so-called "unnatural natural history," is not in strictness a feature of style, but of subject-matter.) As to play on words, Guevara himself . . . indulges in it occasionally; but Lyly carries it to excess. As to alliteration, it is not to be found in

Guevara for the reason that the Spanish language scarcely admits of it. . . . Guevara occasionally marks his antithetic words by rhyme ; instead of rhyme Lyly uses alliteration, and uses it also in excess."<sup>1</sup> His alliteration, too, is not what we ordinarily mean by the word but, usually, transverse alliteration, i.e. "Although I have *shrined* thee in my *heart* for a *trustie friend*, I will *shunne* thee *hereafter* as a *trothless foe*."

Lyly was not, however, the first in English to show characteristics in his prose that belong to Guevarism. There are bits of the *alto estilo* in Roger Ascham, and, as a recent very careful student of English literature in the sixteenth century, Herr Emil Koepfel,<sup>2</sup> has shown, Lyly's style, except in its use of fabulous natural history,—which Professor Hart has correctly said is a feature of the subject-matter not of the style,—was anticipated by George Pettie in his *Pettie Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*. Really, then, what Lyly did was, not to offer a new style, but to carry to excess and to make popular a style given him by others. Lyly's prose is, as Professor Hart has said, "Guevarism carried to its climax," and he made the style a literary fashion, even as to-day Maurice Maeterlinck,

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<sup>1</sup> For the passages quoted and for the details as to editions of the *Dial for Princes* the editor is indebted to Professor J. M. Hart's interesting essay on Euphuism. Reprint from the Transactions of the Association of Ohio Colleges, 1889, pp. 2-7.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bibliography*.

though by no means the first symbolist, has done most to give symbolism vogue. Harvey's words, then, are strictly true: Lyly but "hatched the egges his elder freendes laide;" he but brought into popularity as an English style what, in Spain, Guevara had used in its chief characteristics, in England Ascham had tried a little, and Pettie had copied; and in the last recourse all these men owed to Cicero as their inspiration.

Yet, if to-day we must deprive Lyly of this leaf of laurel given him by the enthusiastic but inaccurate Blount, we may replace it by another. No student of the growth of English prose from Ascham to Bunyan can doubt that even as a youth gains suppleness, grace, quickness and sureness of movement from the severe exercises of the gymnasium, in like manner English prose gained something from the temporary success of Euphuism between 1580 and 1590. The careful study of words, of their values in sound and in meaning, meant a better understanding of the scope of the English language, of its possibilities. Like the youth coming from the gymnasium, English prose must have come forth from the period of euphuism more supple, with a better knowledge of its own strength, and of the methods by which any weakness in it as a means of literary expression might be overcome. The contribution of Euphuism to the development of English prose must have been, though less in extent, similar to the gain of

English poetry from the study of the sonnet from Wyatt to Shakespeare. For this reason, then, students of Elizabethan literature may grant anew to the *Euphues*, as the most popular and the complete embodiment of a style that did important work in the growth of English prose, the honor which they took away from it as the originator of that style.

As a novelist Lyly has interest because the *Euphues* illustrates the close relation between Spanish literature of the sixteenth century and early English fiction, and, at least in its first part, is one of the earliest English didactic novels.

As a pamphleteer Lyly's success, though of a different kind and indirect, was, as has been seen in the examination of the Harvey-Nash controversy, by no means slight.

It is in his comedies, however, that Lyly shows his strongest effect on the literature of his time. Naturally the style was at first that of the *Euphues*, though, as has been pointed out, it gradually grew simpler and finally gave place to experimentation in blank verse. Why so much of Lyly's work had the allegorical form is easily explained, for if the theory that *Endymion* was his first play and was given in 1579 be not accepted, the abiding love of the Briton for allegory,—especially evident dramatically in the success of the Moralities,—the special attention given to it by the poets from Wyatt to Shakespeare, and the known fondness for it of

the Queen and her court, account for Lyly's use of it. If, on the other hand, 1579 be accepted as the date of *Endymion*, we have seen that the conditions under which the play was given demanded a veiled, allegorical treatment of the subject. Success in this first attempt of Lyly at this form, particularly if some of the success was the result of the compliments that allegory made it easy to shower upon the Queen, would have led him to continue the use of allegory.

The influence of these clever plays of Lyly's, of these elaborately planned and developed compliments to the Queen, upon the growth of the masque into favor in England has never been properly examined. It cannot have been slight, even if indirectly felt. It is clear, however, that Lyly did much to establish prose as the method of expression for comedy. Those dramatists who preceded him, most of his contemporaries, and some of his successors in the drama, tried to put their comedy into jingling rhymes or blank verse. Lyly did his work, with one exception, in prose, and by 1600 prose was pretty generally accepted as the best form for comic scenes.

Moreover, if the intentionally amusing scenes of Lyly are compared with those in other plays from 1580 to 1590, it will at once appear that in most of the plays of other writers the comedy, when it is not a somewhat clumsy copy of scenes in Plautus or Terence, is coarseness or horse-

play, but that Lyly's scenes, even if the pun and the equivoque are somewhat overworked, and the fun occasionally becomes a little labored, have real wit, humor, and amusing characterization. His pages and nimble-witted youngsters are very clever, and stand between the audacious and mendacious slaves and boys of Plautus and Terence and the wags and wits of Shakespeare. Moreover, writing successfully for the Queen and her court, he showed that plays could win high favor without the scurrilous jesting of the early drama, for there are but few indelicate speeches in his comedies. The lesson, unfortunately, was not heeded.

One other characteristic of the Elizabethan drama Lyly did much to develop, its lyricism. As Mr. Symonds has pointed out, we probably owe the largest part of the lyrics so common in this drama to the fact that even from the days of the Mysteries and Miracle Plays, the choir-boy appeared prominently in dramatic representations. Chances to make use of his well-trained voice were not to be missed, and therefore songs were written for him to sing. No one did so much as Lyly to make the choir-boys prominent as actors, and his plays and those of the men who copied his work are especially full of lyrics.

Nor can there be any doubt that he had copyists. We have seen that *The Maid's Metamorphosis* is probably an imitation of his work ;



Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* plainly shows his influence; it has been generally supposed that Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* does also. Indeed, nearly all of the plays written between 1580 and 1600 for children to act show signs of his influence. Certainly the master dramatist knew Lyly's work and was not unwilling to borrow from it. The resemblance between the spirit of some of the punning scenes of pages of Lyly and scenes in Shakespeare's work has often been pointed out.<sup>1</sup> The scene of the Watch in *Endymion* strongly suggests the talk of Dogberry and Verges in *Much Ado about Nothing*. Indeed, there are lines and passages in Lyly's plays which Shakespeare seems to have read, and then, half-remembering, to have transmuted into sweeter lines of his own. For instance Pandora in Act III. Sc. 2, of *The Woman in the Moone*, says :

“Wilt thou for my sake go into yon grove,  
And we will sing unto the wild bird's note.”

Certainly this much resembles the words of Amiens' song,

“Who loves to lie with me,  
And tune his merry note  
Unto the sweet bird's throat  
Come hither, come hither, come hither.”  
(*As You Like It*, Act II. Sc. 5.)

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<sup>1</sup> Compare the dialogue of Licio and Petulius, *Midas*, Act I. Sc. 2, with that of Launce and Speed in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

In Act III. Sc. 2 of *Gallathea* is this dialogue between *Phillida* and *Gallathea*, two girls in the disguise of youths.

“PHIL. Have you ever a sister ?

“GALL. If I had but one, my brother must needs have two ; but pray have you ever a one ?

“PHIL. My father had but one daughter, and therefore I could have no sister.”

A very similar situation and the same thought were in Shakespeare's mind when he made Viola say to the Duke (*Twelfth Night*, Act II. Sc. 4),

“I am all the daughters of my father's house,  
And all the brothers too.”

*Trico*, too, in Act V. Sc. 1 of *Alexander and Campaspe* says :

“ Brave pricksong ! Who is't now we heare ?  
None but the lark so shrill and cleare ;  
How at heaven's gate she claps her wings,  
The morne not waking till shee sings.”

Instantly the lines of Shakespeare recur to us,

“ Hark ! hark ! the lark at heaven's gate sings,  
And Phœbus 'gins arise.”

(*Cymbeline*, Act II. Sc. 3.)

It would seem, then, that Shakespeare knew and cared for these plays of John Lyly, for these are but instances to which others might readily be added of the way in which he borrowed from the court dramatist's plays.

In summing up, then, it may be said that

John Lyly succeeded in all the literary fields into which he ventured. A student of the growth of English prose must carefully consider his style and its effect on writing from 1580-1590. A student of the development of the English novel will find in his work the precursor of the novel with a purpose, the philosophic novel, and must give it careful consideration. Any student of the Martin Marprelate controversy, or of Gabriel Harvey's or Thomas Nash's lives cannot neglect his pamphlet, *Pappe-with-an-Hatchet*. Because of the relation of Lyly's work to the development of the masque in England, because of his real wit and humor, his important part in establishing prose as the form for comedy, his lyrics, his part in the development of the companies of children, his influence on fellow-dramatists and successors, and particularly upon Shakespeare, a student of the Elizabethan drama must give Lyly and his work careful consideration. The aim of this introduction has been to show, as far as is possible at the present time, under what conditions Lyly's work was done, and to point the way, very briefly, to a study of what is significant in this work.



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ENDYMION,  
THE MAN IN THE MOON.

PLAYED BEFORE THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY, AT GREEN-  
WICH, ON NEW YEAR'S DAY, AT NIGHT, BY  
THE CHILDREN OF PAUL'S.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This is the reading of Blount's 1632 edition. The original 1591 quarto reads: "Play'd before the Queene's Majestie at Greenewich on Candlemas day at night, by the Chyldren of Paules."

## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

ENDYMION, *in love with Cynthia.*

EUMENIDES, *Friend of Endymion; in love with Semele.*

CORSITES, *a Captain in Cynthia's army; in love with Tellus.*

GERON, *an old man, husband to Dipsas.*

PANELION,<sup>1</sup> } *Lords of Cynthia's Court.*

ZONTES, }

PYTHAGORAS, *the Grecian Philosopher.*

GYPTES, *an Egyptian Soothsayer.*

SIR TOPHAS, *a Braggart.*

SAMIAS, *Page to Endymion.*

DARES, *Page to Eumenides.*

EPITON, *Page to Sir Tophas.*

Master Constable.

First Watchman.

Second Watchman.

CYNTHIA, *Ruler of the land.*

TELLUS, *in love with Endymion.*

FLOSCULA, *Friend of Tellus and Endymion.*

SEMELE, *loved by Eumenides.*

SCINTILLA, } *Waiting-maids; friends of Samias*

FAVILLA, } *and Dares.*

DIPSAS, *an Enchantress.*

BAGOA, *Servant of Dipsas.*

Fairies; Three Ladies and an Old Man in the Dumb Show.

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<sup>1</sup> *Panelion.* Dilke and Fairholt call this lord Pantalion, but in Blount he has this name only on his first appearance, in Act III., Scene 1. Later, wherever he is mentioned, (Act IV., Scene 3, Act V., Scenes 1 and 3,) he is called Panelion.

## THE PROLOGUE.

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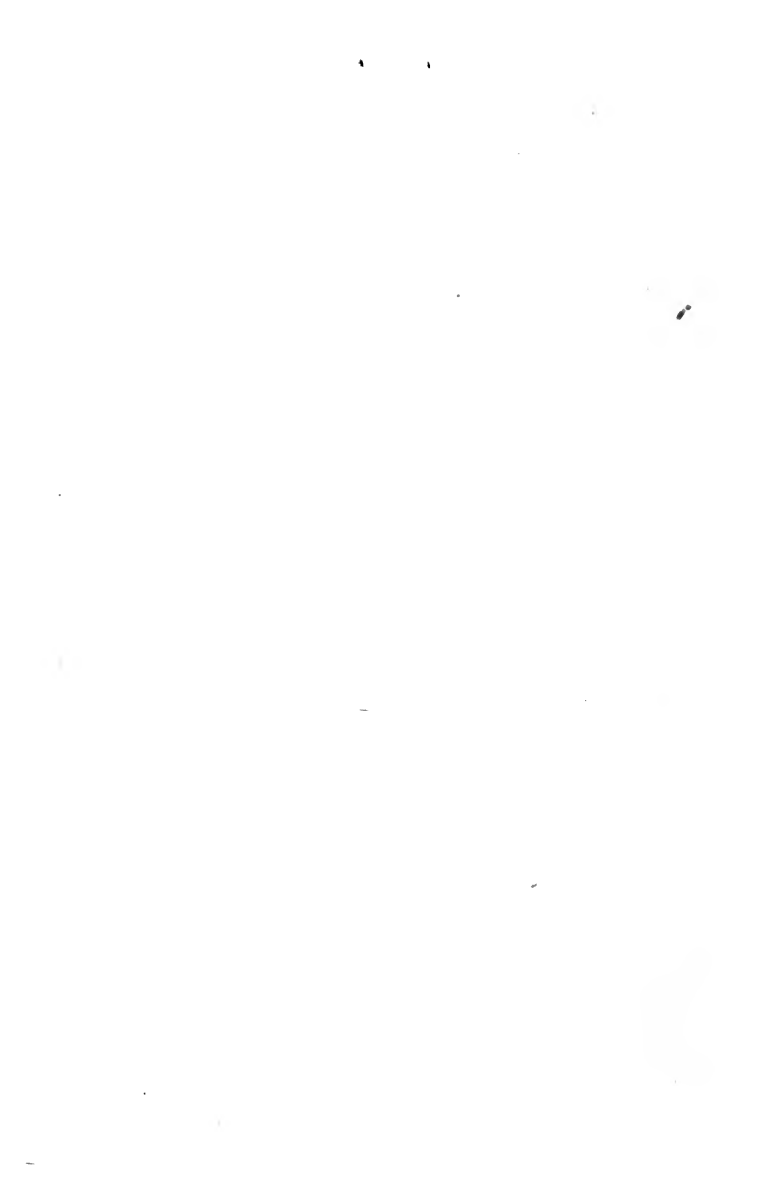
MOST high and happy Princess, we must tell you a tale of the Man in the Moon;<sup>1</sup> which, if it seem ridiculous for the method, or superfluous for the matter, or for the means incredible, for three faults we can make but one excuse—it is a tale of the Man in the Moon.

It was forbidden in old time to dispute of Chimæra because it was a fiction: we hope in our times none will apply pastimes,<sup>2</sup> because they are fancies; for there liveth none under the sun that know what to make of the Man in the Moon. We present neither comedy, nor tragedy, nor story, nor anything but that whosoever heareth may say this: Why, here is a tale of the Man in the Moon.

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<sup>1</sup> *A tale of the Man in the Moon.* A "wild story out of the reach of ordinary rules of criticism. Popular fable declared this man to be Isaac carrying sticks for his own sacrifice; Cain bearing the bundle of thorns unworthily sacrificed by him to the Deity; or the unfortunate man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath-day and was stoned by the Jews (see Book of Numbers, ch. xv., 32-36)." — *Fairholt.*

<sup>2</sup> *Apply pastimes.* Make application of incidents or words in the play to political or other events. Lyly, like several of his successors, suffered from such application of his words.



# ENDYMION.<sup>1</sup>

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## ACT THE FIRST.

### SCENE I.<sup>2</sup>

*Enter* ENDYMION *and* EUMENIDES.

*Endymion.* I find, Eumenides, in all things both variety to content, and satiety to glut, saving only in my affections, which are so staid, and withal so stately, that I can neither satisfy my heart with love, nor mine eyes with wonder. My thoughts, Eumenides, are stitched to the stars, which being as high as I can see, thou

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<sup>1</sup> *Endymion.* Though this name suggests that the Endymion myth was used for this play, Lyly borrowed from it but two incidents,—the long sleep in the moonlight and the kiss of Selene (Cynthia). The rest of the play is to be attributed to the fantasy of Lyly, guided, Steinhäuser thinks, by thought of the "Princely Pleasures" at Kenilworth in 1575. See *John Lyly als Dramatiker*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Scene I.* To place satisfactorily the scenes of this play is practically impossible. Evidently, though there were

mayest imagine how much higher they are than I can reach.

*Eum.* If you be enamoured of anything above <sup>10</sup> the moon, your thoughts are ridiculous, for that things immortal are not subject to affections ; if allured or enchanted with these transitory things under the moon, you show yourself senseless, to attribute such lofty titles to such love-trifles. <sup>15</sup>

*End.* My love is placed neither under the moon nor above.

*Eum.* I hope you be not sotted<sup>1</sup> upon the Man in the Moon.

some properties on the stage at times, like that made necessary by the transformation of Bagoa in the last act, there was no attempt at a stage set. Sometimes it is hard to tell where the scene is supposed to take place, as is the case in this first scene ; sometimes the setting assigned to an incident in one scene is contradicted later : for instance, we hear of Endymion as sleeping, first on a bank of lunary (Act II. Sc. 3), but later, (Act II. Sc. 3,) when Corsites speaks of him, as asleep in a cabin. If there was no stage set, a slip like this meant nothing ; if there was, how could it have been made ? Moreover, in Act IV. Sc. 3, a set is impossible, for near the beginning of the scene Cynthia and her courtiers speak as if on the way from the court to the lunary bank, and yet a few lines later are evidently in the grove where the lunary bank is. In brief, then, Lyly's audience was to follow in imagination where he led : if it was important to know the place, he gave a hint of it ; if it was not, no one bothered about it ; he could shift his place at will, even in the same scene.

<sup>1</sup> *Sotted*, Besotted, bewitched with,



20 *End.* No ; but settled either to die or possess  
the moon herself.

*Eum.* Is Endymion mad, or do I mistake ?  
Do you love the moon, Endymion ?

*End.* Eumenides, the moon.

25 *Eum.* There was never any so peevish<sup>1</sup> to  
imagine the moon either capable of affection or  
shape of a mistress ; for as impossible it is to  
make love fit<sup>2</sup> to her humor, which no man  
knoweth, as a coat to her form, which con-  
30 tinueth not in one bigness whilst she is measur-  
ing. Cease off, Endymion, to feed so much  
upon fancies. That melancholy blood must be  
purged which draweth you to a dotage no less  
miserable than monstrous.

35 *End.* My thoughts have no veins, and yet  
unless they be let blood, I shall perish.

*Eum.* But they have vanities, which being re-  
formed, you may be restored.

*End.* O, fair Cynthia, why do others term thee  
40 inconstant whom I have ever found immovable ?  
Injurious time, corrupt manners, unkind men,  
who, finding a constancy not to be matched in  
my sweet mistress, have christened her with the  
name of wavering, waxing, and waning ! Is she  
45 inconstant that keepeth a settled course ; which,  
since her first creation, altereth not one minute  
in her moving ? There is nothing thought more

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<sup>1</sup> *Peevish.* Foolish.

<sup>2</sup> *Fit to her humor.* Blount and Dilke read, *Sit to her  
humor.* Corrected by Fairholt from the first quarto,

admirable or commendable in the sea than the ebbing and flowing; and shall the moon, from whom the sea taketh this virtue, be accounted <sup>50</sup> fickle for increasing and decreasing? Flowers in their buds are nothing worth till they be blown, nor are blossoms accounted till they be ripe fruit; and shall we then say they be changeable for that they grow from seeds to leaves, from <sup>55</sup> leaves to buds, from buds to their perfection? Then, why be not twigs that become trees, children that become men, and mornings that grow to evenings, termed wavering, for that they continue not at one stay? Ay, but Cynthia, being <sup>60</sup> in her fulness, decayeth, as not delighting in her greatest beauty, or withering when she should be most honored. When malice cannot object anything, folly will, making that a vice which is the greatest virtue. What thing (my <sup>65</sup> mistress excepted), being in the pride of her beauty and latter minute of her age, that waxeth young again? Tell me, Eumenides, what is he that having a mistress of ripe years and infinite virtues, great honors and unspeak- <sup>70</sup> able beauty, but would wish that she might grow tender again, getting youth by years, and never-decaying beauty by time; whose fair face neither the summer's blaze can scorch, nor winter's blast chap, nor the numbering of years <sup>75</sup> breed altering of colors? Such is my sweet Cynthia, whom time cannot touch because she is divine, nor will offend because she is delicate,

O Cynthia, if thou shouldst always continue at  
80 thy fulness, both gods and men would conspire  
to ravish thee. But thou, to abate the pride of  
our affections, dost detract from thy perfections,  
thinking it sufficient if once in a month we en-  
joy a glimpse of thy majesty ; and then, to in-  
85 crease our griefs, thou dost decrease thy gleams,  
coming out of thy royal robes, wherewith thou  
dazzlest our eyes, down into thy swathe clouts,<sup>1</sup>  
beguiling our eyes ; and then—

*Eum.* Stay there, Endymion ; thou that com-  
90 mittest idolatry, wilt straight blaspheme, if thou  
be suffered. Sleep would do thee more good  
than speech : the moon heareth thee not, or if  
she do, regardeth thee not.

*End.* Vain Eumenides, whose thoughts never  
95 grow higher than the crown of thy head ! Why  
troublest thou me, having neither head to con-  
ceive the cause of my love nor heart to receive  
the impressions ? Follow thou thine own for-  
tunes, which creep on the earth, and suffer me  
100 to fly to mine, whose fall, though it be desper-  
ate, yet shall it come by daring. Farewell.

[*Exit.*

*Eum.* Without doubt Endymion is bewitched ;  
otherwise in a man of such rare virtues there  
could not harbor a mind of such extreme madness.  
105 I will follow him, lest in this fancy of the moon  
he deprive himself of the sight of the sun. [*Exit.*

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<sup>1</sup> *Swathe clouts.* Swaddling-clothes,

## SCENE II.

*Enter* TELLUS *and* FLOSCULA.

*Tellus.* Treacherous and most perjured Endymion, is Cynthia the sweetness of thy life and the bitterness of my death? What revenge may be devised so full of shame as my thoughts are replenished with malice? Tell me, Floscula, if falseness in love can possibly be punished with extremity of hate? As long as sword, fire, or poison may be hired, no traitor to my love shall live unrevenged. Were thy oaths without number, thy kisses without measure, thy sighs without end, forged to deceive a poor credulous virgin whose simplicity had been worth thy favor and better fortune? If the gods sit unequal beholders of injuries, or laughers at lovers' deceits, then let mischief be as well forgiven in women as perjury winked at in men.

*Flosc.* Madam, if you would compare the state of Cynthia with your own, and the height of Endymion's thoughts with the meanness of your fortune, you would rather yield than contend, [there] being between you and her no comparison; and rather wonder than rage at the greatness of his mind, being affected with a thing more than mortal.

*Tellus.* No comparison, Floscula? And why so? Is not my beauty divine, whose body is decked with fair flowers, and veins are vines,

yielding sweet liquor to the dullest spirits ;  
135 whose ears are corn, to bring strength ; and  
whose hairs are grass, to bring abundance ? Doth  
not frankincense and myrrh breathe out of my  
nostrils, and all the sacrifice of the gods breed  
in my bowels ? Infinite are my creatures, with-  
140 out which neither thou, nor Endymion, nor any,  
could love or live.

*Flosc.* But know you not, fair lady, that Cyn-  
thia governeth all things ? Your grapes would  
be but dry husks, your corn but chaff, and all  
145 your virtues vain, were it not Cynthia that pre-  
serveth the one in the bud and nourisheth the  
other in the blade, and by her influence both  
comforteth all things, and by her authority com-  
mandeth all creatures : suffer, then, Endymion  
150 to follow his affections, though to obtain her be  
impossible, and let him flatter himself in his own  
imaginations, because they are immortal.

*Tellus.* Loath I am, Endymion, thou shouldst  
die, because I love thee well ; and that thou<sup>1</sup>  
155 shouldst live, it grieveth me, because thou lovest  
Cynthia too well. In these extremities, what  
shall I do ? *Floscula*, no more words ; I am re-  
solved. He shall neither live nor die.

*Flosc.* A strange practice,<sup>2</sup> if it be possible.

160 *Tellus.* Yes, I will entangle him in such a

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<sup>1</sup> *Thou shouldst.* "Thou" inserted by Fairholt from first quarto.

<sup>2</sup> *Practice.* Plot, plan.

sweet net that he shall neither find the means to come out, nor desire it. All allurements of pleasure will I cast before his eyes, insomuch that he shall slake that love which he now voweth to Cynthia, and burn in mine, of which he seemeth careless. In this languishing, between my amorous devices and his own loose desires, there shall such dissolute thoughts take root in his head, and over his heart grow so thick a skin, that neither hope of preferment, nor fear of punishment, nor counsel of the wisest, nor company of the worthiest, shall alter his humor, nor make him once to think of his honor.

*Flosc.* A revenge incredible, and if it may be, unnatural. 175

*Tellus.* He shall know the malice of a woman to have neither mean nor end ; and of a woman deluded in love to have neither rule nor reason. I can do it ; I must ; I will ! All his virtues will I shadow with vices ; his person (ah, sweet person !) shall he deck with such rich robes as he shall forget it is his own person ; his sharp wit (ah, wit too sharp that hath cut off all my joys !) shall he use in flattering of my face and devising sonnets in my favor. The prime of his youth and pride of his time shall be spent in melancholy passions, careless behavior, untamed thoughts, and unbridled affections. 185

*Flosc.* When this is done, what then ? Shall it continue till his death, or shall he dote forever in this delight ? 190

*Tellus.* Ah, Floscula, thou rendest my heart in sunder in putting me in remembrance of the end.

195 *Flosc.* Why, if this be not the end, all the rest is to no end.

*Tellus.* Yet suffer me to imitate Juno, who would turn Jupiter's lovers to beasts on the earth, though she knew afterwards they should  
200 be stars in heaven.

*Flosc.* Affection that is bred by enchantment is like a flower that is wrought in silk,—in color and form most like, but nothing at all in substance or savor.

205 *Tellus.* It shall suffice me if the world talk that I am favored of Endymion.

*Flosc.* Well, use your own will ; but you shall find that love gotten with witchcraft is as unpleasant as fish taken with medicines unwholesome.  
210

*Tellus.* Floscula, they that be so poor that they have neither net nor hook will rather poison dough<sup>1</sup> than pine with hunger ; and she that is so oppressed with love that she is neither able  
215 with beauty nor wit to obtain her friend, will rather use unlawful means than try intolerable pains. I will do it. [Exit.

*Flosc.* Then about it. Poor Endymion, what

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<sup>1</sup> *Will rather poison dough.* The sense here is : They that have neither net nor hook will rather poison dough (catch fish by means of poisoned dough-balls) than catch none at all and pine with hunger.

traps are laid for thee because thou honorest one that all the world wondereth at ! And what plots are cast to make thee unfortunate that studi-est of all men to be the faithfulest ! [*Exit.* 220

## SCENE III.

*Enter* DARES and SAMIAS.

*Dares.* Now our masters are in love up to the ears, what have we to do but to be in knavery up to the crowns ? 225

*Samias.* Oh, that we had Sir Tophas, that brave squire, in the midst of our mirth,—*et ecce autem*, “Will you see the Devil”,—

*Enter*<sup>1</sup> at the opposite side of the stage Sir TOPHAS and EPI.

*Top.* Epi.

*Epi.* Here, sir. 230

*Top.* I brook not this idle humor of love ; it tickleth not my liver, from whence the love-

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<sup>1</sup> *Enter.* Entrances on the public stage were of course from the back ; whether this was equally true of performances at court is not so clear. Certainly there was sometimes more than one entrance, for in *Love's Metamorphosis* Protea, supposedly standing on the sea-beach, says to Petulius : “Follow me at this door, and out at the other.” Two entrances of this kind would make intelligible several of the scenes in *Endymion* in which characters but just entered see others enter immediately. The first group enters by one door, the second by another.



mongers in former ages seemed to infer it should proceed.

235 *Epi.* Love, sir, may lie in your lungs,—and I think it doth, and that is the cause you blow and are so pursy.

*Top.* Tush, boy, I think it but some device of the poet to get money.

240 *Epi.* A poet; what's that?

*Top.* Dost thou not know what a poet is?

*Epi.* No.

*Top.* Why, fool, a poet is as much as one should say—a poet. [*Discovering DARES and*  
245 *SAMIAS.*] But soft, yonder be two wrens; shall I shoot at them?

*Epi.* They are two lads.

*Top.* Larks or wrens, I will kill them.

*Epi.* Larks! Are you blind? They are two  
250 little boys.

*Top.* Birds or boys, they are both but a pittance for my breakfast; therefore have at them, for their brains must as it were embroider my bolts.<sup>1</sup>

255 [SAMIAS and DARES come forward.]

*Sam.* Stay your courage, valiant knight, for your wisdom is so weary that it stayeth itself.

*Dar.* Why, Sir Tophas, have you forgotten your old friends?

260 *Top.* Friends? *Nego argumentum.*

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<sup>1</sup> *Embroider my bolts.* Embroider is used pedantically. Bird-bolts were flat-headed arrows used to knock down small birds.

*Sam.* And why not friends ?

*Top.* Because *amicitia* (as in old annals we find) is *inter pares*. Now, my pretty companions, you shall see how unequal you be to me ;<sup>1</sup> but I will not cut you quite off, you shall be my half-<sup>265</sup> friends for reaching to my middle ; so far as from the ground to the waist I will be your friend.

*Dar.* Learnedly. But what shall become of the rest of your body, from the waist to the <sup>270</sup> crown ?

*Top.* My children, *quod supra vos nihil ad vos* ; you must think the rest immortal, because you cannot reach it.

*Epi.* Nay, I tell ye my master is more than a <sup>275</sup> man.

*Dar.* And thou less than a mouse.

*Top.* But what be you two ?

*Sam.* I am Samias, page to Endymion.

*Dar.* And I Dares, page to Eumenides. 280

*Top.* Of what occupation are your masters ?

*Dar.* Occupation, you clown ! Why, they are honorable and warriors.

*Top.* Then are they my prentices.

*Dar.* Thine ! And why so ? 285

*Top.* I was the first that ever devised war, and therefore by Mars himself had<sup>2</sup> given me for my

<sup>1</sup> *To me.* Here, apparently, Sir Tophas measures heights with the pages, and then goes on with his speech.

<sup>2</sup> *Had given.* Neither the first edition nor Blount's has any word where *had* stands. The editor has followed Fairholt in using *had*; Dilke prints *was*.

arms a whole armory ; and thus I go, as you see,  
 clothed with artillery. It is not silks, milksops,  
 290 nor tissues, nor the fine wool of Ceres, but iron,  
 steel, swords, flame, shot, terror, clamor, blood,  
 and ruin, that rock asleep my thoughts, which  
 never had any other cradle but cruelty. Let me  
 see, do you not bleed ?

295 *Dar.* Why so ?

*Top.* Commonly my words wound.

*Sam.* What then do your blows ?

*Top.* Not only wound, but also confound.<sup>1</sup>

*Sam.* How darest thou come so near thy mas-  
 300 ter, Epi ? Sir Tophas, spare us.

*Top.* You shall live :—you, Samias, because  
 you are little ; you, Dares, because you are no  
 bigger ; and both of you, because you are but

<sup>1</sup> *Not only wound.* Both the first edition and Blount's read here: "Not only confound, but also confound." Dilke endeavored to improve the passage by reading: "Not only confound, but also contund," saying in explanation, "They not only amaze, but strike down." He was forced to admit, however, that he had never seen the word *contund* in English, and that another interpretation of the passage might be given. By this, these words become similar in spirit to Sir Tophas's "Why, fool, a poet is as much as one should say—a poet," and should be read: "They not only confound, but also—confound." Fairholt, whom the editor follows, considers the first *confound* a printer's anticipation of the second. Sir Tophas has just said that his words wound ; when asked what his blows do, with his fondness for antithesis he says: "Not only wound, but also confound" (destroy).

two; for commonly I kill by the dozen, and have for every particular adversary a peculiar <sup>305</sup> weapon.

*Sam.* May we know the use, for our better skill in war?

*Top.* You shall. Here is a bird-bolt for the ugly beast the blackbird. 310

*Dar.* A cruel sight.

*Top.* Here is the musket for the untamed or, as the vulgar sort term it, the wild mallard.<sup>1</sup>

*Sam.* O desperate attempt!

*Epi.* Nay, my master will match them. 315

*Dar.* Ay, if he catch them.

*Top.* Here is a spear and shield, and both necessary, the one to conquer, the other to subdue or overcome the terrible trout, which although he be under the water, yet tying a string to the top of my spear and an engine of iron to the end of my line, I overthrow him, and then herein I put him. 320

*Sam.* O wonderful war! [*Aside.*] Dares, didst thou ever hear such a dolt? 325

*Dar.* [*Aside.*] All the better; we shall have good sport hereafter, if we can get leisure.

*Sam.* [*Aside.*] Leisure! I will rather lose my master's service than his company! Look how he struts. [*To Sir TOPHAS.*] But what is this? <sup>330</sup> Call you it your sword?

*Top.* No, it is my simitar; which I, by con-

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<sup>1</sup> *Wild mallard.* The wild drake.

struction often studying to be compendious, call my smiter.

335 *Dar.* What, are you also learned, sir?

*Top.* Learned? I am all Mars and Ars.

*Sam.* Nay, you are all mass and ass.

*Top.* Mock you me? You shall both suffer, yet with such weapons as you shall make choice  
340 of the weapon wherewith you shall perish. Am I all a mass or lump; is there no proportion in me? Am I all ass; is there no wit in me? Epi, prepare them to the slaughter.

*Sam.* I pray, sir, hear us speak! We call you  
345 mass, which your learning doth well understand is all man, for *mas maris* is a man. Then *as* (as you know) is a weight, and we for your virtues account you a weight.

*Top.* The Latin hath saved your lives, the  
350 which a world of silver could not have ransomed. I understand you, and pardon you.

*Dar.* Well, Sir Tophas, we bid you farewell, and at our next meeting we will be ready to do you service.

355 *Top.* Samias, I thank you: Dares, I thank you: but especially I thank you both.

*Sam.* Wisely. [*Aside.*] Come, next time we'll have some pretty gentlewomen with us to walk, for without doubt with them he will be very  
360 dainty.

*Dar.* Come, let us see what our masters do; it is high time. [*Exeunt SAMIAS and DARES.*]

*Top.* Now will I march into the field, where, if

I cannot encounter with my foul enemies, I will withdraw myself to the river, and there fortify<sup>365</sup> for fish, for there resteth no minute free from fight. [*Exeunt* Sir TOPHAS and EPITON.

## SCENE IV.

*Enter at one side* FLOSCULA and TELLUS, *at the other* DIPSAS.

*Tellus.* Behold, Floscula, we have met with the woman by chance that we sought for by travel. I will break my mind to her without cere-<sup>370</sup>mony or circumstance, lest we lose that time in advice that should be spent in execution.

*Flosc.* Use your discretion ; I will in this case neither give counsel nor consent, for there cannot be a thing more monstrous than to force<sup>375</sup> affection by sorcery, neither do I imagine anything more impossible.

*Tellus.* Tush, Floscula, in obtaining of love, what impossibilities will I not try ? And for the winning of Endymion, what impieties will I not practise ? [*Crossing to* DIPSAS.] Dipsas, whom as many honor for age as wonder at for cunning, listen in few words to my tale, and answer in one word to the purpose, for that neither my burn-<sup>385</sup>ing desire can afford long speech, nor the short time I have to stay many delays. Is it possible by herbs, stones, spells, incantation, enchantment, exorcisms, fire, metals, planets, or any practice, to plant affection where it is not, and to supplant it where it is ?

*Dipsas.* Fair lady, you may imagine that these hoary hairs are not void of experience, nor the great name that goeth of my cunning to be without cause. I can darken the sun by my  
395 skill and remove the moon out of her course ; I can restore youth to the aged and make hills without bottoms ; there is nothing that I cannot do but that only which you would have me do : and therein I differ from the gods, that I  
400 am not able to rule hearts ; for were it in my power to place affection by appointment, I would make such evil appetites, such inordinate lusts, such cursed desires, as all the world should be filled both with superstitious heats and extreme  
405 love.

*Tellus.* Unhappy Tellus, whose desires are so desperate that they are neither to be conceived of any creature, nor to be cured by any art !

*Dipsas.* This I can : breed slackness in love,  
410 though never root it out. What is he whom you love, and what she that he honoreth ?

*Tellus.* Endymion, sweet Endymion is he that hath my heart ; and Cynthia,—too, too fair Cynthia,—the miracle of nature, of time, of fortune,  
415 is the lady that he delights in, and dotes on every day, and dies for ten thousand times a day.

*Dipsas.* Would you have his love either by absence or sickness aslaked ?<sup>1</sup> Would you that

---

<sup>1</sup> *Aslaked.* Abated,

Cynthia should mistrust him, or be jealous of 420  
him without color?

*Tellus.* It is the only thing I crave, that, seeing my love to Endymion, unspotted, cannot be accepted, his truth to Cynthia, though it be unspeakable, may be suspected. 425

*Dipsas.* I will undertake it, and overtake<sup>1</sup> him, that<sup>2</sup> all his love shall be doubted of, and therefore become desperate: but this will wear out with time that treadeth all things down but truth. 430

*Tellus.* Let us go.

*Dipsas.* I follow.

[*Exeunt* TELLUS and FLOSCULA, DIPSAS.  
*following them*

## ACT THE SECOND.

### SCENE I.

*Enter* ENDYMION.

*Endymion.* O fair Cynthia! O unfortunate 435  
Endymion! Why was not thy birth as high as thy thoughts, or her beauty less than heavenly; or why are not thine honors as rare as her beauty, or thy fortunes as great as thy deserts? Sweet Cynthia, how wouldst thou be pleased, 440  
how possessed? Will labors, patient of all extremities, obtain thy love? There is no moun-

<sup>1</sup> *Overtake.* Overcome.

<sup>2</sup> *That.* So that.



tain so steep that I will not climb, no monster  
so cruel that I will not tame, no action so des-  
445 perate that I will not attempt. Desirest thou  
the passions of love, the sad and melancholy  
moods of perplexed minds, the not-to-be-ex-  
pressed torments of racked thoughts? Behold  
my sad tears, my deep sighs, my hollow eyes,  
450 my broken sleeps, my heavy countenance.  
Wouldst thou have me vowed only to thy  
beauty and consume every minute of time in  
thy service? Remember my solitary life almost  
these seven years. Whom have I entertained  
455 but mine own thoughts and thy virtues? What  
company have I used but contemplation? Whom  
have I wondered at but thee? Nay, whom have  
I not contemned for thee? Have I not crept  
to those on whom I might have trodden, only  
460 because thou didst shine upon them? Have  
not injuries been sweet to me, if thou vouch-  
safedst I should bear them? Have I not spent  
my golden years in hopes, waxing old with  
wishing, yet wishing nothing but thy love? With  
465 Tellus, fair Tellus, have I dissembled, using her  
but as a cloak for mine affections, that others,  
seeing my mangled and disordered mind, might  
think it were for one that loveth me, not for  
Cynthia, whose perfection alloweth no compan-  
470 ion nor comparison. In the midst of these dis-  
tempered thoughts of mine thou art not only  
jealous of my truth, but careless, suspicious,  
and secure; which strange humor maketh my

mind as desperate as thy conceits are doubtful. I am none of those wolves that bark most when <sup>475</sup> thou shinest brightest, but that fish (thy fish,<sup>1</sup> Cynthia, in the flood Araris) which at thy waxing is as white as the driven snow, and at thy waning as black as deepest darkness. I am that Endymion, sweet Cynthia, that have carried my <sup>480</sup> thoughts in equal balance with my actions, being always as free from imagining ill as enterprising; that Endymion whose eyes never esteemed anything fair but thy face, whose tongue termed nothing rare but thy virtues, and whose <sup>485</sup> heart imagined nothing miraculous but thy government; yea, that Endymion, who, divorcing himself from the amiableness of all ladies, the bravery of all courts, the company of all men, hath chosen in a solitary cell to live, only by <sup>490</sup> feeding on thy favor, accounting in the world—but thyself—nothing excellent, nothing immortal: thus mayest thou see every vein, sinew, muscle, and artery of my love, in which there is no flattery, nor deceit, error, nor art. But soft, <sup>495</sup> here cometh Tellus. I must turn my other face to her, like Janus, lest she be as suspicious as Juno.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Thy fish*. "I see now that as the fish *Scolopidus* in the flood *Araris*, at the waxing of the moone is as white as the driven snow, and at the wayning as black as the burnt coale . . ."—*Anat. of Wit*, p. 89, Arber.

*Enter* TELLUS, FLOSCULA, and DIPSAS.

500 *Tellus.* Yonder I espy Endymion. I will seem to suspect nothing, but soothe him, that seeing I cannot obtain the depth of his love, I may learn the height of his dissembling. Floscula and Dipsas, withdraw yourselves out of our  
505 sight, yet be within the hearing of our saluting. [*FLOSCULA and DIPSAS withdraw. TELLUS comes forward.*] How now, Endymion, always solitary? No company but your own thoughts, no friend but melancholy fancies?

510 *End.* You know, fair Tellus, that the sweet remembrance of your love is the only companion of my life, and thy presence, my paradise; so that I am not alone when nobody is with me, and in heaven itself when thou art with me.

515 *Tellus.* Then you love me, Endymion?

*End.* Or else I live not, Tellus.

*Tellus.* Is it not possible for you, Endymion, to dissemble?

*End.* Not, Tellus, unless I could make me a  
520 woman.

*Tellus.* Why, is dissembling joined to their sex inseparable, as heat to fire, heaviness to earth, moisture to water, thinness to air?

*End.* No, but found in their sex as common  
525 as spots upon doves, moles upon faces, caterpillars upon sweet apples, cobwebs upon fair windows.

*Tellus.* Do they all dissemble?

*End.* All but one.

*Tellus.* Who is that?

530

*End.* I dare not tell; for if I should say you, then would you imagine my flattery to be extreme; if another, then would you think my love to be but indifferent.

*Tellus.* You will be sure I shall take no van- 535  
tage of your words. But in sooth, Endymion, without more ceremonies, is it not Cynthia?

*End.* You know, Tellus, that of the gods we are forbidden to dispute, because their deities come not within the compass of our reasons; 540  
and of Cynthia we are allowed not to talk but to wonder, because her virtues are not within the reach of our capacities.

*Tellus.* Why, she is but a woman.

*End.* No more was Venus.

545

*Tellus.* She is but a virgin.

*End.* No more was Vesta.

*Tellus.* She shall have an end.

*End.* So shall the world.

*Tellus.* Is not her beauty subject to time?

550

*End.* No more than time is to standing still.

*Tellus.* Wilt thou make her immortal?

*End.* No, but incomparable.

*Tellus.* Take heed, Endymion, lest like the wrestler in Olympia,<sup>1</sup> that striving to lift an im- 555  
possible weight caught an incurable strain,

---

<sup>1</sup> *Olympia.* "But it falleth out with me, as with the young wrestler, that came to the games of Olympia, who having taken a foil, thought scorn to leave, till he had received a fall, or him that being pricked in the finger with a Bramble, thrusteth his whole arm among the thorns for

thou, by fixing thy thoughts above thy reach,  
fall into a disease without all recure.<sup>1</sup> But I see  
thou art now in love with Cynthia.

560 *End.* No, Tellus, thou knowest that the stately  
cedar, whose top reacheth unto the clouds, never  
boweth his head to the shrubs that grow in the  
valley; nor ivy, that climbeth up by the elm,  
can ever get hold of the beams of the sun:  
565 Cynthia I honor in all humility, whom none  
ought or dare adventure to love, whose affec-  
tions are immortal, and virtues infinite. Suffer  
me, therefore, to gaze on the moon, at whom,  
were it not for thyself, I would die with won-  
570 dering. [*Exeunt* ENDYMION and TELLUS.]

## SCENE II.

*Enter* DARES, SAMIAS, SCINTILLA, and FAVILLA.

*Dar.* Come, Samias, didst thou ever hear such  
a sighing, the one for Cynthia, the other for  
Semele, and both for moonshine in the water?

*Sam.* Let them sigh, and let us sing. How  
575 say you, gentlewomen, are not our masters too  
far in love?

*Scint.* Their tongues, haply, are dipped to  
the root in amorous words and sweet discourses,  
but I think their hearts are scarce tipped on the  
580 side with constant desires.

---

anger."—*Epistle Dedicatory, Euphues and his England*,  
Arber, p. 216.

<sup>1</sup> *Recure.* Recovery; used both as a verb and as a sub-  
stantive by Lyly.

*Dar.* How say you, Favilla, is not love a lurcher,<sup>1</sup> that taketh men's stomachs away that they cannot eat, their spleen that they cannot laugh, their hearts that they cannot fight, their eyes that they cannot sleep, and leaveth nothing<sup>585</sup> but livers<sup>2</sup> to make nothing but lovers!

*Favil.* Away, peevish boy; a rod were better under thy girdle than love in thy mouth! It will be a forward cock that croweth in the shell.

*Dar.* Alas, good old gentlewoman, how it be-<sup>590</sup> cometh you to be grave!

*Scint.* Favilla, though she be but a spark, yet is she fire.

*Favil.* And you, Scintilla, be not much more than a spark, though you would be esteemed a<sup>595</sup> flame.

*Sam.* [*Aside to Dares.*] It were good sport to see the fight between two sparks.

*Dar.* [*To Samias.*] Let them to it, and we will warm us by their words. 600

*Scint.* You are not angry, Favilla?

*Favil.* That is, Scintilla, as you list to take it.

*Sam.* That, that!<sup>3</sup>

*Scint.* This it is to be matched with girls, who coming but yesterday from making of babies,<sup>4</sup><sup>605</sup> would before to-morrow be accounted matrons.

<sup>1</sup> *A lurcher.* A sneak-thief.

<sup>2</sup> *Livers.* See Act I., Sc. 3, line 232.

<sup>3</sup> *That, that!* Samias urges on the dispute, as a boy cries "Sic 'em!"

<sup>4</sup> *Babies.* Dolls.

*Favil.* I cry your matronship mercy. Because your pantables<sup>1</sup> be higher with cork, therefore your feet must needs be higher in the insteps :  
 610 you will be mine elder because you stand upon a stool and I on the floor.

*Sam.* Good, good !

*Dar.* [*To Samias.*] Let them love, and see with what countenance they will become friends.

615 *Scint.* Nay, you think to be the wiser, because you mean to have the last word.

*Sam.* [*To Dares.*] Step between them lest they scratch. In faith, gentlewomen, seeing we came out to be merry, let not your jarring mar our  
 620 jests ; be friends. How say you ?

*Scint.* I am not angry, but it spited me to see how short<sup>2</sup> she was.

*Favil.* I meant nothing till she would needs cross me.

625 *Dar.* Then, so let it rest.

*Scint.* I am agreed.

*Favil.* And I. Yet I never took anything so unkindly in my life. [*Weeps.*]

*Scint.* 'Tis I have the cause, that never offered  
 630 the occasion. [*Weeps.*]

*Dar.* Excellent, and right like a woman.

*Sam.* A strange sight to see water come out of fire.

*Dar.* It is their property to carry in their eyes

<sup>1</sup> *Pantables.* Loose shoes of enriched materials. They were sometimes raised by thick soles and high heels.

<sup>2</sup> *Short.* Pettishly abrupt.

fire and water, tears and torches, and in their <sup>635</sup>  
mouths honey and gall.

*Enter at the opposite side* Sir TOPHAS and EPITON.

*Scint.* You will be a good one if you live—  
but what is yonder formal fellow?

*Dar.* Sir Tophas, Sir Tophas, of whom we  
told you. If you be good wenches, make as <sup>640</sup>  
though you love him, and wonder at him.

*Favil.* We will do our parts.

*Dar.* But first let us stand aside, and let him  
use his garb,<sup>1</sup> for all consisteth in his gracing.

[*The four stand aside.*

*Top.* Epi. 645

*Epi.* At hand, sir.

*Top.* How likest thou this martial life, where  
nothing but blood besprinkleth our bosoms?  
Let me see,<sup>2</sup> be our enemies fat?

*Epi.* Passing fat: and I would not change <sup>650</sup>  
this life to be a lord; and yourself passeth all  
comparison, for other captains kill and beat,  
and there is nothing you kill, but you also eat.

*Top.* I will draw out their guts out of their bel-  
lies, and tear the flesh with my teeth, so mortal is <sup>655</sup>  
my hate, and so eager my unstaunched stomach.

*Epi.* [*Aside.*] My master thinks himself the  
valiantest man in the world if he kill a wren; so

<sup>1</sup> *Use his garb.* Show his demeanor, style, fashion.

<sup>2</sup> *Let me see.* Here, and in his next speech, Sir Tophas refers to the trout for which he went in Scene 3, Act I. These Epiton is now carrying.



warlike a thing he accounteth to take away life,  
660 though it be from a lark.

*Top.* Epi, I find my thoughts to swell and my spirit to take wings, insomuch that I cannot continue within the compass of so slender combats.

665 *Favil.* This passeth !<sup>1</sup>

*Scint.* Why, is he not mad ?

*Sam.* No, but a little vainglorious.

*Top.* Epi.

*Epi.* Sir.

670 *Top.* I will encounter that black and cruel enemy that beareth rough and untewed<sup>2</sup> locks upon his body, whose sire throweth down the strongest walls, whose legs are as many as both ours, on whose head are placed most horrible  
675 horns by nature as a defence from all harms.

*Epi.* What mean you, master, to be so desperate ?

*Top.* Honor inciteth me, and very hunger compelleth me.

680 *Epi.* What is that monster ?

*Top.* The monster *ovis*. I have said,—let thy wits work.

*Epi.* I cannot imagine it. Yet let me see,—a “black enemy” with “rough locks.” It may be  
685 a sheep, and *ovis* is a sheep. His sire so strong : a ram is a sheep’s sire, that being also an engine of war. Horns he hath, and four legs,—so hath

<sup>1</sup> *This passeth.* Exceeds belief, or “beats all.”

<sup>2</sup> *Untewed.* Uncombed.

a sheep. Without doubt, this monster is a black sheep. Is it not a sheep that you mean?

*Top.* Thou hast hit it: that monster will I <sup>690</sup> kill and sup with.

*Sam.* [*Aside.*] Come let us take him off. [SAMIAS, DARES, FAVILLA, and SCINTILLA *come forward.*] Sir Tophas, all hail.

*Top.* Welcome, children; I seldom cast mine <sup>695</sup> eyes so low as to the crowns of your heads, and therefore pardon me that I spake not all this while.

*Dar.* No harm done. Here be fair ladies come to wonder at your person, your valor, your <sup>700</sup> wit,—the report whereof hath made them careless of their own honors,—to glut their eyes and hearts upon yours.

*Top.* Report cannot but injure me, for that not knowing fully what I am, I fear she hath been <sup>705</sup> a niggard in her praises.

*Scint.* No, gentle knight, report hath been prodigal, for she hath left you no equal, nor herself credit, so much hath she told,—yet no more than we now see. 710

*Dar.* A good wench.

*Favil.* If there remain as much pity toward women as there is in you courage against your enemies, then shall we be happy, who, hearing of your person, came to see it, and seeing it, are <sup>715</sup> now in love with it.

*Top.* Love me, ladies? I easily believe it, but my tough heart receiveth no impression with

sweet words. Mars may pierce it, Venus shall  
720 not paint on it.

*Favil.* A cruel saying.

*Sam.* There's a girl.

*Dar.* Will you cast these ladies away, and all  
for a little love? Do but speak kindly.

725 *Top.* There cometh no soft syllable within my  
lips; custom hath made my words bloody and  
my heart barbarous: that pelting<sup>1</sup> word love,  
how waterish in my mouth; it carrieth no sound;  
hate, horror, death, are speeches that nourish  
730 my spirits. I like honey, but I care not for the  
bees; I delight in music, but I love not to play  
on the bagpipes; I can vouchsafe to hear the  
voice of women, but to touch their bodies I dis-  
dain it as a thing childish and fit for such men  
735 as can digest nothing but milk.

*Scint.* A hard heart! Shall we die for your  
love and find no remedy?

*Top.* I have already taken a surfeit.

*Epi.* Good master, pity them.

740 *Top.* Pity them, Epi? No, I do not think that  
this breast shall be pestered with such a foolish  
passion. What is that the gentlewoman carrieth  
in a chain?

*Epi.* Why, it is a squirrel.

745 *Top.* A squirrel? O gods, what things are  
made for money?<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Pelting.* Paltry, contemptible.

<sup>2</sup> *Made for money.* Does Sir Tophas try to reflect on  
Scintilla's character by playing on the word *squirrel*? It

*Dar.* Is not this gentleman over-wise?

*Favil.* I could stay all day with him, if I feared not to be shent.<sup>1</sup>

*Scint.* Is it not possible to meet again? 750

*Dar.* Yes, at any time.

*Favil.* Then let us hasten home.

*Scint.* Sir Tophas, the god of war deal better with you than you do with the god of love.

*Favil.* Our love we may dissemble, digest we cannot; but I doubt not but time will hamper you and help us. 755

*Top.* I defy time, who hath no interest in my heart. Come, Epi, let me to the battle with that hideous beast: love is pap, and hath no relish in my taste because it is not terrible. 760

[*Exeunt* SIR TOPHAS and EPITON.]

*Dar.* Indeed a black sheep is a perilous beast, —but let us in till another time.

*Favil.* I shall long for that time. 765

[*Exeunt* SAMIAS, DARES, FAVILLA and SCINTILLA.]

### SCENE III.

*Enter* ENDYMION.

*End.* No rest, Endymion; still uncertain how to settle thy steps by day or thy thoughts by night! Thy truth is measured by thy fortune, and thou art judged unfaithful because thou art 770

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was a cant term for a prostitute. See Grose's *Dictionary of Slang*.

<sup>1</sup> *Shent.* Reproved harshly.

unhappy. I will see if I can beguile myself with sleep, and if no slumber will take hold in my eyes, yet will I embrace the golden thoughts in my head, and wish to melt by musing ; that  
775 as ebony, which no fire can scorch, is yet consumed with sweet savors, so my heart, which cannot be bent by the hardness of fortune, may be bruised by amorous desires. On yonder bank never grew anything but lunary,<sup>1</sup> and here-  
780 after I will never have any bed but that bank. O Endymion, Tellus was fair. But what availeth beauty without wisdom ? Nay, Endymion, she was wise. But what availeth wisdom without honor ? She was honorable, Endymion ; belie  
785 her not. Ay, but how obscure is honor without fortune. Was she not fortunate whom so many followed ? Yes, yes, but base is fortune without majesty : thy majesty, Cynthia, all the world knoweth and wondereth at, but not one in the  
790 world that can imitate it or comprehend it. No more, Endymion. Sleep or die. Nay, die, for to sleep, it is impossible ;—and yet I know not how it cometh to pass, I feel such a heaviness both in mine eyes and heart that I am suddenly be-  
795 numbed, yea, in every joint. It may be weariness, for when did I rest ? It may be deep

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<sup>1</sup> *Lunary*. Moonwort. "I have heard of an herb called Lunary that being bound to the pulses of the sick cause nothing but dreams of weddings and dances," Act III., Sc. 3, *Sapho and Phao*.

melancholy, for when did I not sigh? Cynthia!  
Ay, so;—I say, Cynthia! [He falls asleep.

*Enter DIPSAS and BAGOA. DIPSAS, seeing  
ENDYMION, crosses to him.*<sup>1</sup>

*Dipsas.* Little dost thou know, Endymion,  
when thou shalt wake, for hadst thou placed<sup>800</sup>  
thy heart as low in love as thy head lieth now  
in sleep, thou mightest have commanded Tellus,  
whom now, instead of a mistress, thou shalt find  
a tomb. These eyes must I seal up by art, not  
nature, which are to be opened neither by art<sup>805</sup>  
nor nature. Thou that liest down with golden  
locks shalt not wake until they be turned to sil-  
ver hairs; and that chin on which scarcely ap-  
peareth soft down shall be filled with bristles as

---

<sup>1</sup> *Enter Dipsas.* The stage directions are hard to arrange here. It is rather difficult to tell whether Endymion enters, dogged by Dipsas and Bagoa; enters, goes to sleep, and is discovered by Dipsas and Bagoa; or comes in and falls asleep near the hut of Dipsas, whence Dipsas and her maid watch him, coming forward as soon as he falls asleep. The editor has chosen the second interpretation as the least radical. On p. 22, in the interview with Tellus, Dipsas promised only to make Endymion's love doubted, not to charm him into a long sleep. In the early part of the scene there is nothing to support the idea that Dipsas and Bagoa watch from the witch's hut. If this had been intended, some dialogue between Dipsas and Bagoa would probably have preceded the entrance of Endymion.

810 hard as broom. Thou shalt sleep out thy youth  
and flowering time, and become dry hay before  
thou knowest thyself green grass; and ready by  
age to step into the grave when thou wakest,  
that wast youthful in the court when thou laidest  
815 thee down to sleep. The malice of Tellus hath  
brought this to pass, which if she could not have  
intreated of me by fair means, she would have  
commanded by menacing, for from her gather  
we all our simples to maintain our sorceries.  
820 [*To BAGOA.*] Fan with this hemlock over his  
face, and sing the enchantment for sleep, whilst  
I go in and finish those ceremonies that are  
required in our art. Take heed ye touch not  
his face, for the fan is so seasoned that whoso  
825 it toucheth with a leaf shall presently die, and  
over whom the wind of it breatheth, he shall  
sleep forever.

*Bagoa.* Let me alone; I will be careful. [*Exit*  
DIPSAS.] What hap hadst thou, Endymion, to  
830 come under the hands of Dipsas? O fair En-  
dymion, how it grieveth me that that fair face  
must be turned to a withered skin and taste the  
pains of death before it feel the reward of love!  
I fear Tellus will repent that which the heavens  
835 themselves seemed to rue. But I hear Dipsas  
coming; I dare not repine, lest she make me  
pine, and rock me into such a deep sleep that  
I shall not awake to my marriage.

*Re-enter DIPSAS.*

*Dipsas.* How now, have you finished?

*Bagoa.* Yea.<sup>1</sup>

840

*Dipsas.* Well then, let us in ; and see that you do not so much as whisper that I did this, for if you do, I will turn thy hairs to adders and all thy teeth in thy head to tongues. Come away, come away. [*Exeunt* DIPSAS and BAGOA.<sup>845</sup>

### A DUMB SHOW.<sup>2</sup>

*Music sounds. Three ladies enter : one with a knife and a looking-glass, who, by the procurement of one of the other two, offers to stab Endymion as he sleeps ; but the third wrings her hands, lamenteth, offering still to prevent it, but dares not. At*<sup>850</sup>  
*last, the first lady looking in the glass, casts down the knife.* [*Exeunt the Three Ladies.*

*Enters an ancient man with books with three leaves ; offers the same twice.<sup>3</sup> Endymion refuseth. He<sup>4</sup> rendeth<sup>5</sup> two, and offers the third, where he*<sup>855</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Yea.* Apparently a song has been lost here. None appears in any of the editions, but the opportunity offered was too good for Lyly to have passed it by. It should be remembered that the songs appeared first in Blount's edition : he may have overlooked this place, or the song may already have been lost.

<sup>2</sup> *Dumb show.* Omitted in first edition. Given by Blount in 1632.

<sup>3</sup> *Twice.* The similarity of this to the story of Tarquin and the Sibyl with her nine books will be noticed.

<sup>4</sup> *He.* The Old Man.

<sup>5</sup> *Rendeth.* Original *readeth.* The similarity of the directions to the Tarquin story suggests the reading



*stands awhile; and then Endymion offers to take it.*  
 [Exit the Old Man.]

## ACT THE THIRD.

## SCENE I.

*Enter* CYNTHIA, EUMENIDES, TELLUS, SEMELE,  
 CORSITES, PANELION, *and* ZONTES.<sup>1</sup>

*Cynthia.* Is the report true, that Endymion is stricken into such a dead sleep that nothing can either wake him or move him?

<sup>860</sup> *Eum.* Too true, madam, and as much to be pitied as wondered at.

*Tellus.* As good sleep and do no harm as wake and do no good.

*Cynth.* What maketh you, Tellus, to be so  
<sup>865</sup> short? The time was Endymion only was.<sup>2</sup>

*Eum.* It is an old saying, madam, that a waking dog doth afar off bark at a sleeping lion.

*Sem.* It were good, Eumenides, that you took a nap with your friend, for your speech beginneth  
<sup>870</sup> to be heavy.

*Eum.* Contrary to your nature, Semele, which hath been always accounted light.

*rendeth*, and p. 84, "he rent the first leaf," shows that this is the right word.

<sup>1</sup> *Zontes.* The old editions read: "Cynthia, three Lords, Tellus," but it is evident from the text that the persons named above are those present in the scene.

<sup>2</sup> *Endymion only was.* Only Endymion was thought of,

*Cynth.* What, have we here before my face these unseemly and malapert overthwarts!<sup>1</sup> I will tame your tongues and your thoughts, and 875 make your speeches answerable to your duties, and your conceits fit for my dignity, else will I banish you both my person and the world.

*Eum.* Pardon I humbly ask; but such is my unspotted faith to Endymion that whatsoever 880 seemeth a needle to prick his finger is a dagger to wound my heart.

*Cynth.* If you be so dear to him, how hap- peneth it you neither go to see him, nor search for remedy for him? 885

*Eum.* I have seen him to my grief, and sought recure with despair, for that I cannot imagine who should restore him that is the wonder to all men. Your Highness, on whose hands the compass of the earth is at command, though not 890 in possession, may show yourself both worthy your sex, your nature, and your favor, if you redeem that honorable Endymion, whose ripe years foretell rare virtues, and whose unmellowed conceits promise ripe counsel. 895

*Cynth.* I have had trial of Endymion, and conceive greater assurance of his age than I could hope of his youth.

*Tellus.* But timely, madam, crooks that tree that will be a cammock,<sup>2</sup> and young it pricks 900

<sup>1</sup> *Malapert overthwarts.* Impertinent wranglings.

<sup>2</sup> *Cammock.* A crooked tree.

that will be a thorn ; and therefore he that began without care to settle his life, it is a sign without amendment he will end it.

*Cynth.* Presumptuous girl, I will make thy  
905 tongue an example of unrecoverable displeasure.  
Corsites, carry her to the castle in the desert,  
there to remain and weave.

*Cors.* Shall she work stories or poetries ?

*Cynth.* It skilleth not which.<sup>1</sup> Go to, in both ;  
910 for she shall find examples infinite in either  
what punishment long tongues have. Eumeni-  
des, if either the soothsayers in Egypt, or the  
enchanters in Thessaly, or the philosophers in  
Greece, or all the sages of the world, can find  
915 remedy, I will procure it ; therefore, dispatch  
with all speed : you, Eumenides, into Thessaly ;  
you, Zontes, into Greece, because you are ac-  
quainted in Athens ; you, Panelion, to Egypt ;  
saying that Cynthia sendeth, and if you will,  
920 commandeth.

*Eum.* On bowed knee I give thanks, and with  
wings on my legs, I fly for remedy.

*Zon.* We are ready at Your Highness' com-  
mand, and hope to return to your full content.

925 *Cynth.* It shall never be said that Cynthia,  
whose mercy and goodness filleth the heavens  
with joys and the world with marvel, will suffer  
either Endymion or any to perish, if he may be  
protected.

---

<sup>1</sup> *It skilleth not.* It matters not, it does not signify.

*Eum.* Your Majesty's words have been always <sup>930</sup> deeds, and your deeds virtues. [*Exeunt all.*]

## SCENE II.

*Enter* CORSITES *and* TELLUS.

*Cors.* Here is the castle, fair Tellus, in which you must weave, till either time end your days, or Cynthia her displeasure. I am sorry so fair a face should be subject to so hard a fortune, <sup>935</sup> and that the flower of beauty, which is honored in courts, should here wither in prison.

*Tellus.* Corsites, Cynthia may restrain the liberty of my body, of my thoughts she cannot; and therefore do I esteem myself most free, <sup>940</sup> though I am in greatest bondage.

*Cors.* Can you then feed on fancy, and subdue the malice of envy by the sweetness of imagination?

*Tellus.* Corsites, there is no sweeter music to <sup>945</sup> the miserable than despair; and therefore the more bitterness I feel, the more sweetness I find; for so vain were liberty, and so unwelcome the following of higher fortune, that I choose rather to pine in this castle than to be a <sup>950</sup> prince in any other court.

*Cors.* A humor contrary to your years and nothing agreeable to your sex: the one commonly allured with delights, the other always with sovereignty.

*Tellus.* I marvel, Corsites, that you being a 955

captain, who should sound nothing but terror and suck nothing but blood, can find in your heart to talk such smooth words, for that it  
960 agreeth not with your calling to use words so soft as that of love.

*Cors.* Lady, it were unfit of wars to discourse with women, into whose minds nothing can sink but smoothness ; besides, you must not think  
965 that soldiers be so rough-hewn, or of such knotty mettle, that beauty cannot allure, and you, being beyond perfection, enchant.

*Tellus.* Good Corsites, talk not of love, but let me to my labor : the little beauty I have  
970 shall be bestowed on my loom, which I now mean to make my lover.

*Cors.* Let us in, and what favor Corsites can show, Tellus shall command.

*Tellus.* The only favor I desire is now and  
975 then to walk. [ *Exeunt CORSITES and TELLUS.*

## SCENE III.

*Enter Sir TOPHAS and EPITON.*

*Tophas.* Epi.

*Epi.* Here, sir.

*Tophas.* Unrig me. Heigho !

*Epi.* What's that ?

980 *Tophas.* An interjection, whereof some are of mourning : as *eho, vah.*

*Epi.* I understand you not.

*Tophas.* Thou seest me.

*Epi.* Ay.

*Tophas.* Thou hearest me.

985

*Epi.* Ay.

*Tophas.* Thou feelest me.

*Epi.* Ay.

*Tophas.* And not understandest me?

*Epi.* No.

990

*Tophas.* Then am I but three-quarters of a noun substantive. But alas, *Epi*, to tell thee the truth, I am a noun adjective.<sup>1</sup>

*Epi.* Why?

*Tophas.* Because I cannot stand without another.

995

*Epi.* Who is that?

*Tophas.* *Dipsas*.

*Epi.* Are you in love?

*Tophas.* No ; but love hath, as it were, milked my thoughts and drained from my heart the very substance of my accustomed courage ; it worketh

1000

<sup>1</sup> *Noun adjective.* Here, and in the line as to an interjection, *Lyly* is playing on definitions given in *William Lilly's Grammar*.

"A Noun Substantive is that which standeth by himself, and requireth not another word to be joyned with him, to declare his signification."

"A Noun Adjective is that which cannot stand by himself, in reason or signification, but requireth to be joyned with another word.

"An Interjection is a part of speech which betokeneth a sudden passion of the mind, under an imperfect will, and there are so many significations of Interjections, as there are motions of a troubled mind."—pp. 6, 106, *Lilie's Latin Grammar*, translated by R. R. London, 1641.

in my head like new wine, so as I must hoop my  
sconce with iron, lest my head break, and so I  
1005 bewray<sup>1</sup> my brains : but I pray thee first dis-  
cover<sup>2</sup> me in all parts, that I may be like a lover,  
and then will I sigh and die. Take my gun and  
give me a gown : *Cedant arma togæ.*<sup>3</sup>

*Epi.* Here.

1010 *Tophas.* Take my sword and shield and give  
me beard-brush and scissors—*Bella gerant alii,  
tu Pari semper ama.*<sup>4</sup>

*Epi.* Will you be trimmed, sir ?

*Tophas.* Not yet ; for I feel a contention  
1015 within me whether I shall frame the bodkin  
beard or the bush.<sup>5</sup> But take my pike and give  
me pen,—*Dicere quæ puduit, scribere jussit amor.*<sup>6</sup>

*Epi.* I will furnish you, sir.

*Tophas.* Now, for my bow and bolts give me  
1020 ink and paper, for my simitar a pen-knife ; for

*Scalpellum, calami, atramentum, charta, libelli,  
Sint semper studiis arma parata meis.*

<sup>1</sup> *Bewray.* Reveal, disclose unintentionally, expose.

<sup>2</sup> *Discover.* Used in its old sense of uncover, undress.

<sup>3</sup> *Cedant arma.* Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, 22 (77).

<sup>4</sup> *Bella gerant.*—The line seems to have been suggested by Ovid's *Her.* xiii., 84 : *Bella gerant alii ! Protesilaus amet !*

<sup>5</sup> *The bodkin beard or the bush.* The bodkin beard was cut "sharp, stiletto-fashion, dagger-like." When revived recently as a fashion, it was called the Elizabethan beard. Sir Tophas is undecided whether to have his beard cut to a point or to leave it bushy, another fashion of his time.

<sup>6</sup> *Dicere quæ.* Ovid, *Her.* iv., 10.

*Epi.* Sir, will you give over wars and play with that bauble called love?

*Tophas.* Give over wars? No, *Epi*, *Militat* <sup>1025</sup>  
*omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido.*<sup>1</sup>

*Epi.* Love hath made you very eloquent, but your face is nothing fair.

*Tophas.* *Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus*  
*Ulysses.*<sup>2</sup> 1030

*Epi.* Nay, I must seek a new master if you can speak nothing but verses.

*Tophas.* *Quicquid conabar dicere, versus erat.*<sup>3</sup>  
*Epi*, I feel all Ovid *De Arte Amandi* lie as heavy at my heart as a load of logs. Oh, what a fine, <sup>1035</sup>  
thin hair hath Dipsas! What a pretty low forehead! What a tall and stately nose! What little hollow eyes! What great and goodly lips! How harmless she is, being toothless,—her fingers fat and short, adorned with long nails like a <sup>1040</sup>  
bittern! In how sweet a proportion her cheeks hang down to her breasts like dugs and her paps to her waist like bags! What a low stature she is. and yet what a great foot she carrieth! How <sup>1045</sup>  
thriftily must she be in whom there is no waist! How virtuous is she like to be, over whom no man can be jealous!

<sup>1</sup> *Militat omnis.* Ovid, *Amor.*, i. 9. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Non formosus.* Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, book 2, line 123.

<sup>3</sup> *Quicquid conabar.* Ovid, *Tristia*, iv., 10. 26. In the *Tristia* the line reads *Quicquid tentabam dicere, versus erat.* In Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* it is given just as it stands here. See Cook's ed., p. 47.



*Epi.* Stay, master, you forget yourself.

*Tophas.* O *Epi*, even as a dish melteth by the  
1050 fire, so doth my wit increase by love.

*Epi.* Pithily, and to the purpose! But what,  
begin you to nod?

*Tophas.* Good *Epi*, let me take a nap; for as  
some man may better steal a horse than another  
1055 look over the hedge, so divers shall be sleepy  
when they would fainest take rest. [*He sleeps.*]

*Epi.* Who ever saw such a woodcock!<sup>1</sup> Love  
*Dipsas!* Without doubt all the world will now  
account him valiant, that ventureth on her whom  
1060 none durst undertake. But here cometh two  
wags.

*Enter DARES and SAMIAS.*

*Sam.* Thy master hath slept his share.

*Dar.* I think he doth it because he would not  
pay me my board-wages.

1065 *Sam.* It is a thing most strange: and I think  
mine will never return, so that we must both  
seek new masters, for we shall never live by our  
manners.

*Epi.* If you want masters, join with me and  
1070 serve Sir *Tophas*, who must needs keep more  
men, because he is toward marriage.

*Sam.* What, *Epi*, where's thy master?

*Epi.* Yonder, sleeping in love.

*Dar.* Is it possible?

1075 *Epi.* He hath taken his thoughts a hole lower,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Woodcock.* Simpleton.

<sup>2</sup> *Hole lower.* Like the slang, "Come off his high  
horse."

and saith, seeing it is the fashion of the world, he will vail bonnet<sup>1</sup> to beauty.

*Sam.* How is he attired?

*Epi.* Lovely.<sup>2</sup>

*Dar.* Whom loveth this amorous knight? 1080

*Epi.* Dipsas.

*Sam.* That ugly creature? Why, she is a fool, a scold, fat, without fashion, and quite without favor.<sup>3</sup>

*Epi.* Tush, you be simple; my master hath a 1085 good marriage.

*Dar.* Good! As how?

*Epi.* Why, in marrying Dipsas he shall have every day twelve dishes of meat to his dinner, though there be none but Dipsas with him: four 1090 of flesh, four of fish, four of fruit.

*Sam.* As how, Epi?

*Epi.* For flesh these: woodcock, goose, bittern, and rail.<sup>4</sup>

*Dar.* Indeed, he shall not miss, if Dipsas be 1095 there.

*Epi.* For fish these: crab, carp, lump, and pouting.

*Sam.* Excellent, for of my word she is both crabbish, lumpish, and carping. 1100

<sup>1</sup> *Vail bonnet.* To take off one's bonnet or cap.

<sup>2</sup> *Lovely.* Like a lover.

<sup>3</sup> *Without fashion and quite without favor.* "Fashion relates to shape, and favor to the features."—*Dilke.*

<sup>4</sup> *Rail.* In this description, Epi puns half on the meaning, half on the sound of his words.

*Epi.* For fruit these : fritters, medlars,<sup>1</sup> harti-chokes, and lady-longings. Thus you see he shall fare like a king, though he be but a beggar.

1105 *Dar.* Well, *Epi*, dine thou with him, for I had rather fast than see her face. But see, thy master is asleep ; let us have a song to wake this amorous knight.

*Epi.* Agreed.

1110 *Sam.* Content.

THE FIRST SONG.<sup>2</sup>

*Epi.* Here snores Tophas,  
That amorous ass,  
Who loves Dipsas,  
With face so sweet,  
1115 Nose and chin meet.

*All three.* { At sight of her each Fury skips  
{ And flings into her lap their whips.

*Dar.* Holla, holla in his ear.

*Sam.* The witch, sure, thrust her fingers there.

1120 *Epi.* Cramp him, or wring the fool by th' nose ;

*Dar.* Or clap some burning flax to his toes.

*Sam.* What music's best to wake him ?

*Epi.* Bow-wow, let bandogs<sup>3</sup> shake him !

<sup>1</sup> *Medlar.* The fruit of a small tree related to the crab-apple. It resembles " a small brown-skinned apple, but with a broad disk at the summit, surrounded by the remains of the calyx lobes. When first gathered, it is harsh and uneatable, but in the early stages of decay it acquires an acid flavor much relished by some."—*Cent. Dict.*

<sup>2</sup> *First song.* This appeared first in Blount's edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Bandogs.* Large, fierce dogs such as were kept to bait bears. See Topsell's *Hist. of Four-Footed Beasts.*

*Dar.* Let adders hiss in's ear ;

*Sam.* Else earwigs wriggle there. 1125

*Epi.* No, let him batten<sup>1</sup> ; when his tongue  
Once goes, a cat is not worse strung.

*All three.* { But if he ope nor mouth nor eyes,  
                  { He may in time sleep himself wise.

*Top.* Sleep is a binding of the senses, love a 1130  
loosing.

*Epi.* Let us hear him awhile.

*Top.* There appeared in my sleep a goodly owl,  
who, sitting upon my shoulder, cried "Twit,  
twit" ; and before mine eyes presented herself 1135  
the express image of Dipsas. I marvelled<sup>2</sup>  
what the owl said, till at the last I perceived,—  
"Twit, twit," "To it, to it,"—only, by contraction  
admonished by this vision to make account of  
my sweet Venus. 1140

*Sam.* Sir Tophas, you have overslept your-  
self.

*Top.* No, youth, I have but slept over my love.

*Dar.* Love ? Why, it is impossible that into so  
noble and unconquered a courage love should 1145  
creep, having first a head as hard to pierce as  
steel, then to pass to a heart armed with a shirt  
of mail.

<sup>1</sup> *Batten.* To grow fat.

<sup>2</sup> *I marvelled.* This sentence is difficult to punctuate:  
In the Blount edition it reads: "I marvelled what the owl  
said, till at the last, I perceived twit, twit, to it, to it :  
only by contraction admonished by this vision to make  
account of my sweet Venus."

*Epi.* Ay, but my master yawning one day in  
 1150 the sun, Love crept into his mouth before he  
 could close it, and there kept such a tumbling in  
 his body that he was glad to untruss<sup>1</sup> the points  
 of his heart and entertain Love as a stranger.

*Top.* If there remain any pity in you, plead  
 1155 for me to Dipsas.

*Dar.* Plead! Nay, we will press her to it.  
 [*Aside to SAMIAS.*] Let us go with him to Dipsas,  
 and there shall we have good sport. But, Sir  
 Tophas, when shall we go? For I find my  
 1160 tongue voluble, and my heart venturous, and all  
 myself like myself.

*Sam.* [*Aside to DARES.*] Come, Dares, let us  
 not lose him until we find our masters, for as  
 long as he liveth, we shall lack neither mirth  
 1165 nor meat.

*Epi.* We will traverse.<sup>2</sup> Will you go, sir?

*Top.* *I præ, sequar.*<sup>3</sup>

[*Exeunt the Pages, followed by Sir Tophas.*]

#### SCENE IV.

*Enter EUMENIDES and GERON.*

*Eum.* Father, your sad music being tuned on  
 1170 the same key that my hard fortune is, hath so

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<sup>1</sup> *Untruss the points.* The points were the strings or ribbons, tipped with metal tags, by which the hose was fastened to the doublet. To untruss was to untie, unlace.

<sup>2</sup> *Traverse.* "Travice" in Blount and later editions.

<sup>3</sup> *Sequar.* Terence, *Andria*, I., I, 171,

melted my mind that I wish to hang at your mouth's end till life end.

*Ger.* These tunes, gentleman, have I been accustomed with these fifty winters, having no other house to shroud myself but the broad <sup>1175</sup> heavens; and so familiar with me hath use made misery that I esteem sorrow my chiefest solace, and welcomest is that guest to me that can rehearse the saddest tale or the bloodiest tragedy.

*Eum.* A strange humor. Might I inquire the <sup>1180</sup> cause?

*Ger.* You must pardon me if I deny to tell it, for knowing that the revealing of griefs is, as it were, a renewing of sorrow, I have vowed therefore to conceal them, that I might not only feel <sup>1185</sup> the depth of everlasting discontentment, but despair of remedy. But whence are you? What fortune hath thrust you to this distress?

*Eum.* I am going to Thessaly, to seek remedy for Endymion, my dearest friend, who hath been <sup>1190</sup> cast into a dead sleep almost these twenty years, waxing old and ready for the grave, being almost but newly come forth of the cradle.

*Ger.* You need not for recure travel far, for whoso can clearly see the bottom of this foun- <sup>1195</sup> tain shall have remedy for anything.

*Eum.* That methinketh is impossible. Why, what virtue can there be in water?

*Ger.* Yes, whosoever can shed the tears of a faithful lover shall obtain anything he would. <sup>1200</sup> Read these words engraven about the brim,

*Eum.* Have you known this by experience, or is it placed here of purpose to delude men?

*Ger.* I only would have experience of it, and  
1205 then should there be an end of my misery; and then would I tell the strangest discourse that ever yet was heard.

*Eum.* Ah, Eumenides!

*Ger.* What lack you, gentleman; are you not  
1210 well?

*Eum.* Yes, father, but a qualm that often cometh over my heart doth now take hold of me. But did never any lovers come hither?

*Ger.* Lusters, but not lovers; for often have I  
1215 seen them weep, but never could I hear they saw the bottom.

*Eum.* Came there women also?

*Ger.* Some.

*Eum.* What did they see?

*Ger.* They all wept, that the fountain over-  
1220 flowed with tears, but so thick became the water with their tears that I could scarce discern the brim, much less behold the bottom.

*Eum.* Be faithful lovers so scant?

*Ger.* It seemeth so, for yet heard I never of  
1225 any.

*Eum.* Ah, Eumenides, how art thou perplexed! Call to mind the beauty of thy sweet mistress and the depth of thy never-dying affections:  
1230 how oft hast thou honored her, not only without spot, but suspicion of falsehood! And how hardly hath she rewarded thee without cause or

color of despite. How secret hast thou been these seven years, that hast not, nor once darest not to name her, for discontenting her. How faithful, that hath offered to die for her, to please her! Unhappy Eumenides!

*Ger.* Why, gentleman, did you once love?

*Eum.* Once? Ay, father, and ever shall.

*Ger.* Was she unkind and you faithful? 1240

*Eum.* She of all women the most froward, and I of all creatures the most fond.

*Ger.* You doted then, not loved, for affection is grounded on virtue, and virtue is never peevish; or on beauty, and beauty loveth to be praised. 1245

*Eum.* Ay, but if all virtuous ladies should yield to all that be loving, or all amiable gentlewomen entertain all that be amorous, their virtues would be accounted vices, and beauties deformities; for that love can be but between two, and that not proceeding of him that is most faithful but most fortunate. 1250

*Ger.* I would you were so faithful that your tears might make you fortunate. 1255

*Eum.* Yea, father, if that my tears clear not this fountain, then may you swear it is but a mere mockery.

*Ger.* So saith every one yet that wept.

*Eum.* Ah, I faint, I die! Ah, sweet Semele, let me alone, and dissolve,<sup>1</sup> by weeping, into water. 1260

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<sup>1</sup> *And dissolve.* And let me dissolve.



*Ger.* This affection seemeth strange: if he see nothing, without doubt this dissembling  
1265 passeth, for nothing shall draw me from the belief.

*Eum.* Father, I plainly see the bottom, and there in white marble engraven these words:  
*Ask one for all, and but one thing at all.*

1270 *Ger.* O fortunate Eumenides, (for so have I heard thee call thyself,) let me see. I cannot discern any such thing. I think thou dreamest.

*Eum.* Ah, father, thou art not a faithful lover, and therefore canst not behold it.

1275 *Ger.* Then ask, that I may be satisfied by the event, and thyself blessed.

*Eum.* Ask? So I will. And what shall I do but ask, and whom should I ask but Semele, the possessing of whose person is a pleasure that  
1280 cannot come within the compass of comparison; whose golden locks seem most curious when they seem most careless; whose sweet looks seem most alluring when they are most chaste; and whose words the more virtuous they are, the more am-  
1285 orous they be accounted? I pray thee, Fortune, when I shall first meet with fair Semele, dash my delight with some light disgrace, lest embracing sweetness beyond measure, I take a surfeit without recure: let her practise her  
1290 accustomed coyness that I may diet myself upon my desires; otherwise the fulness of my joys will diminish the sweetness, and I shall perish by them before I possess them, Why do

I trifle the time in words? The least minute being spent in the getting of Semele is more <sup>1295</sup> worth than the whole world; therefore let me ask. What now, Eumenides! Whither art thou drawn? Hast thou forgotten both friendship and duty, care of Endymion, and the commandment of Cynthia? Shall he die in a leaden <sup>1300</sup> sleep because thou sleepest in a golden dream? Ay, let him sleep ever, so I slumber but one minute with Semele. Love knoweth neither friendship nor kindred. Shall I not hazard the loss of a friend for the obtaining of her for <sup>1305</sup> whom I would often lose myself? Fond<sup>1</sup> Eumenides, shall the enticing beauty of a most disdainful lady be of more force than the rare fidelity of a tried friend? The love of men to women is a thing common and of course; the friendship <sup>1310</sup> of man to man infinite and immortal. Tush! Semele doth possess my love. Ay, but Endymion hath deserved it. I will help Endymion. I found Endymion unspotted in his truth. Ay, but I shall find Semele constant in her love. I <sup>1315</sup> will have Semele. What shall I do? Father, thy gray hairs are ambassadors of experience. Which shall I ask?

*Ger.* Eumenides, release Endymion, for all things, friendship excepted, are subject to <sup>1320</sup> fortune: love is but an eye-worm, which only tickleth the head with hopes and wishes; friend-

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<sup>1</sup> *Fond*, Foolish.

ship the image of eternity, in which there is nothing movable, nothing mischievous. As  
1325 much difference as there is between beauty and virtue, bodies and shadows, colors and life, so great odds is there between love and friendship. Love is a chameleon, which draweth nothing into the mouth but air, and nourisheth nothing in  
1330 the body but lungs: believe me, Eumenides, desire dies in the same moment that beauty sickens, and beauty fadeth in the same instant that it flourisheth. When adversities flow, then love ebbs; but friendship standeth stiffly in  
1335 storms. Time draweth wrinkles in a fair face, but addeth fresh colors to a fast friend, which neither heat, nor cold, nor misery, nor place, nor destiny, can alter or diminish. O friendship, of all things the most rare, and therefore most  
1340 rare because most excellent, whose comforts in misery is always sweet, and whose counsels in prosperity are ever fortunate! Vain love, that, only coming near to friendship in name, would seem to be the same or better in nature!

1545 *Eum.* Father, I allow your reasons, and will therefore conquer mine own. Virtue shall subdue affections, wisdom lust, friendship beauty. Mistresses are in every place, and as common as hares on Athos, bees in Hybla, fowls in  
1350 the air; but friends to be found are like the phœnix in Arabia,<sup>1</sup> but one; or the philadel-

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<sup>1</sup> *Phœnix in Arabia.* "The phœnix, that famous bird of Arabia. . . . It is said that there is only one in existence

phi<sup>1</sup> in Arays, never above two. I will have Endymion. Sacred fountain, in whose bowels are hidden divine secrets, I have increased your waters with the tears of unspotted thoughts, <sup>1355</sup> and therefore let me receive the reward you promise: Endymion, the truest friend to me, and faithfulest lover to Cynthia, is in such a dead sleep that nothing can wake or move him.

*Ger.* Dost thou see anything? 1360

*Eum.* I see in the same pillar these words: *When she whose figure of all is the perfectest, and never to be measured; always one, yet never the same; still inconstant, yet never wavering; shall come and kiss Endymion in his sleep, he shall* <sup>1365</sup> *then rise, else never.* This is strange.

*Ger.* What see you else?

*Eum.* There cometh over mine eyes either a dark mist, or upon the fountain a deep thickness, for I can perceive nothing. But how am <sup>1370</sup> I deluded, or what difficult, nay impossible, thing is this?

in the whole world, and that that has not been seen very often." Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, book x, ch. 2.

<sup>1</sup> *Philadelphi in Arays.* Of these puzzling words Professor H. T. Peck of Columbia College suggests the following explanation: "Philadelphus is the old name for the mock-orange (*philadelphus hirsutus*), and I believe Arays to be Lyly's form of the Spanish Aranjuez (in Roman times *Ara Iovis*). Aranjuez has been famous for centuries because of its beautiful flower-gardens, first laid out in Lyly's time by Philip II. The flowers of the philadelphus, as a rule, grow only in pairs, but botanists mention them as having been (rarely) found in a cluster,"

*Ger.* Methinketh it easy.

*Eum.* Good father, and how ?

1375 *Ger.* Is not a circle of all figures the perfect-  
est ?

*Eum.* Yes.

*Ger.* And is not Cynthia of all circles the  
most absolute ?

1380 *Eum.* Yes.

*Ger.* Is it not impossible to measure her, who  
still worketh by her influence, never standing  
at one stay ?

*Eum.* Yes.

1385 *Ger.* Is she not always Cynthia, yet seldom in  
the same bigness; always wavering in her waxing  
or waning, that our bodies might the better  
be governed, our seasons the dailier give their  
increase; yet never to be removed from her  
1390 course, as long as the heavens continue theirs ?

*Eum.* Yes.

*Ger.* Then who can it be but Cynthia, whose  
virtues being all divine must needs bring things  
to pass that be miraculous? Go, humble thyself  
1395 to Cynthia; tell her the success, of which myself  
shall be a witness. And this assure thyself, that  
she that sent to find means for his safety will  
now work her cunning.

*Eum.* How fortunate am I, if Cynthia be she  
1400 that may do it !

*Ger.* How fond art thou, if thou do not  
believe it !

*Eum.* I will hasten thither that I may entreat

on my knees for succor, and embrace in mine arms my friend. 1405

*Ger.* I will go with thee, for unto Cynthia must I discover all my sorrows, who also must work in me a contentment.

*Eum.* May I now know the cause?

*Ger.* That shall be as we walk, and I doubt 1410  
not but the strangeness of my tale will take away the tediousness of our journey.

*Eum.* Let us go.

*Ger.* I follow.

[*Exeunt EUMENIDES and GERON.*

## ACT THE FOURTH.

### SCENE I.

*Enter TELLUS.*

*Tellus.* I marvel Corsites giveth me so much 1415  
liberty,—all the world knowing his charge to be so high and his nature to be most strange,—who hath so ill treated ladies of great honor that he hath not suffered them to look out of windows, much less to walk abroad. It may 1420  
be he is in love with me, for (Endymion, hard-hearted Endymion excepted) what is he that is not enamored of my beauty? But what respectest thou the love of all the world? Endymion hates thee. Alas, poor Endymion, my 1425  
malice hath exceeded my love, and thy faith to Cynthia quenched my affections. Quenched,

Tellus? Nay, kindled them afresh; insomuch that I find scorching flames for dead embers, and cruel encounters of war in my thoughts instead of sweet parleys. Ah, that I might once again see Endymion! Accursed girl, what hope hast thou to see Endymion, on whose head already are grown gray hairs, and whose life must yield to nature, before Cynthia end her displeasure. Wicked Dipsas, and more devilish Tellus, the one for cunning too exquisite, the other for hate too intolerable! Thou wast commanded to weave the stories and poetries wherein were showed both examples and punishments of tattling tongues, and thou hast only embroidered the sweet face of Endymion, devices of love, melancholy imaginations, and what-not, out of thy work, that thou shouldst study to pick out of thy mind. But here cometh Corsites. I must seem yielding and stout; full of mildness, yet tempered with a majesty; for if I be too flexible, I shall give him more hope than I mean; if too froward, enjoy less liberty than I would. Love him I cannot, and therefore will practise that which is most contrary to our sex, to dissemble.

*Enter* CORSITES.

*Cor.* Fair Tellus, I perceive you rise with the lark, and to yourself sing with the nightingale.

*Tellus.* My lord, I have no playfellow but fancy; being barred of all company, I must

question with myself, and make my thoughts my friends.

*Cor.* I would you would account my thoughts also your friends, for they be such as are only <sup>1460</sup> busied in wondering at your beauty and wisdom; and some such as have esteemed your fortune too hard; and divers of that kind that offer to set you free, if you will set them free.

*Tellus.* There are no colors so contrary as <sup>1465</sup> white and black, nor elements so disagreeing as fire and water, nor anything so opposite as men's thoughts and their words.

*Cor.* He that gave Cassandra the gift of prophesying, with the curse that, spake she <sup>1470</sup> never so true, she should never be believed, hath I think poisoned the fortune of men, that uttering the extremities of their inward passions are always suspected of outward perjuries.

*Tellus.* Well, Corsites, I will flatter myself and <sup>1475</sup> believe you. What would you do to enjoy my love?

*Cor.* Set all the ladies of the castle free, and make you the pleasure of my life: more I cannot do, less I will not. 1480

*Tellus.* These be great words, and fit for your calling; for captains must promise things impossible. But will you do one thing for all?

*Cor.* Anything, sweet Tellus, that am ready for all. 1481

*Tellus.* You know that on the lunny bank sleepeth Endymion.



*Cor.* I know it.

*Tellus.* If you will remove him from that  
 1490 place by force, and convey him into some ob-  
 scure cave by policy, I give you here the faith  
 of an unspotted virgin that you only shall pos-  
 sess me as a lover, and in spite of malice have  
 me for a wife.

1495 *Cor.* Remove him, Tellus! Yes, Tellus, he  
 shall be removed, and that so soon as<sup>1</sup> thou shalt  
 as much commend my diligence as my force.  
 I go.

*Tellus.* Stay, will yourself attempt it?

1500 *Cor.* Ay, Tellus, as I would have none partaker  
 of my sweet love, so shall none be partners of my  
 labors. But I pray thee go at your best leisure,  
 for Cynthia beginneth to rise, and if she dis-  
 cover our love, we both perish, for nothing  
 1505 pleaseth her but the fairness of virginity. All  
 things must be not only without lust but without  
 suspicion of lightness.

*Tellus.* I will depart, and go you to En-  
 dymion.

1510 *Cor.* I fly, Tellus, being of all men the most  
 fortunate. [*Exit* CORSITES.

*Tellus.* Simple Corsites, I have set thee about  
 a task, being but a man, the gods themselves  
 cannot perform, for little dost thou know how  
 1515 heavy his head lies, how hard his fortune; but  
 such shifts must women have to deceive men,  
 and under color of things easy, entreat that

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<sup>1</sup> *As.* After *so* and *such*, as sometimes meant *that*.

which is impossible ; otherwise we should be cumbered with importunities, oaths, sighs, letters, and all implements of love, which to one <sup>1520</sup> resolved to the contrary are most loathsome. I will in, and laugh with the other ladies at Corsites's sweating. [Exit TELLUS.

## SCENE II.

*Enter SAMIAS and DARES.*

*Sam.* Will thy master never awake ?

*Dar.* No ; I think he sleeps for a wager : but <sup>1525</sup> how shall we spend the time ? Sir Tophas is so far in love that he pineth in his bed and cometh not abroad.

*Sam.* But here cometh Epi in a pelting chafe.<sup>1</sup>

*Enter EPITON.*

*Epi.* A pox of all false proverbs, and were a <sup>1530</sup> proverb a page, I would have him by the ears !

*Sam.* Why art thou angry ?

*Epi.* Why ? You know it is said, " The tide tarrieth no man."

*Sam.* True. <sup>1535</sup>

*Epi.* A monstrous lie ; for I was tied two hours, and tarried for one to unloose me.

*Dar.* Alas, poor Epi !

*Epi.* Poor ! No, no, you base, conceited slaves, I am a most complete gentleman, al- <sup>1540</sup> though I be in disgrace with Sir Tophas.

*Dar.* Art thou out with him ?

<sup>1</sup> *Pelting chafe.* Irritable humor.

*Epi.* Ay, because I cannot get him a lodging with Endymion. He would fain take a nap for  
 1545 forty or fifty years.

*Dar.* A short sleep, considering our long life.

*Sam.* Is he still in love?

*Epi.* In love? Why he doth nothing but make sonnets.

1550 *Sam.* Canst thou remember any one of his poems?

*Epi.* Ay, this is one :—

The beggar, Love, that knows not where to lodge,  
 At last within my heart, when I slept,

1555

He crept,

I waked, and so my fancies began to fodge.<sup>1</sup>

*Sam.* That's a very long verse.

*Epi.* Why, the other was short : the first is called from the thumb to the little finger ; the  
 1560 second from the little finger to the elbow ; and some he made to reach to the crown of his head, and down again to the sole of his foot. It is set to the tune of the black saunce<sup>2</sup> ; *ratio est*, because Dipsas is a black saint.

1565 *Dar.* Very wisely : but pray thee, *Epi*, how art thou complete ; and being from thy master, what occupation wilt thou take?

*Epi.* Know,<sup>3</sup> my hearts, I am an absolute *Microcosmus*, a petty world of myself : my library is

<sup>1</sup> *Fodge.* Move.

<sup>2</sup> *Black saunce.* The same as Black Santis or Black Sanctus, a hymn to Saint Satan, ridiculing the luxury of the monks.

<sup>3</sup> *Know.* Blount and the later editors read " No."

my head, for I have no other books but my  
 brains; my wardrobe on my back, for I have no  
 more apparel than is on my body; my armory  
 at my fingers' end, for I use no other artillery  
 than my nails; my treasure in my purse. *Sic  
 omnia mea mecum porto.*<sup>1</sup> 1570 1575

*Dar.* Good!

*Epi.* Know,<sup>2</sup> sirs, my palace is paved with  
 grass, and tiled with stars, for *Cælo tegitur qui non  
 habet urnam,*<sup>3</sup>—he that hath no house must lie  
 in the yard. 1580

*Sam.* A brave resolution! But how wilt thou  
 spend thy time?

*Epi.* Not in any melancholy sort; for mine ex-  
 ercise I will walk horses, Dares.

*Dar.* Too bad! 1585

*Epi.* Why, is it not said: "It is good walking  
 when one hath his horse in his hand"?

*Sam.* Worse and worse! But how wilt thou  
 live?

*Epi.* By angling. Oh, 'tis a stately occupation 1590  
 to stand four hours in a cold morning, and to  
 have his nose bitten with frost before his bait  
 be mumbled with a fish.

*Dar.* A rare attempt! But wilt thou never  
 travel? 1595

<sup>1</sup> *Sic omnia.* Cicero, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, i. i. *Omnia mecum porto mea.* Ascribed to Bias by Cicero. Compare Phædrus, *Fab.* iv. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Know.* Blount and the later editors read "Now."

<sup>3</sup> *Cælo tegitur.* Lucan, vii. 819.

*Epi.* Yes, in a western barge,<sup>1</sup> when with a good wind and lusty pugs,<sup>2</sup> one may go ten miles in two days.

*Sam.* Thou art excellent at thy choice. But  
1600 what pastime wilt thou use? None?

*Epi.* Yes, the quickest of all.

*Sam.* What, dice?

*Epi.* No, when I am in haste, one-and-twenty games at chess, to pass a few minutes.

1605 *Dar.* A life for a little lord, and full of quickness.

*Epi.* Tush, let me alone! But I must needs see if I can find where Endymion lieth, and then go to a certain fountain hard by, where they say  
1610 faithful lovers shall have all things they will ask. If I can find out any of these, *Ego et magister meus erimus in tuto*, I and my master shall be friends. He is resolved to weep some three or four pailfuls to avoid the rheum of love that  
1615 wambleth<sup>3</sup> in his stomach.

<sup>1</sup> *Western barge.* Apparently the Thames barges were noted for slowness. Thos. Nash says: "Indeede, to say the truth, my stile is somewhat heavie-gaited, and cannot daunce, trip, and goe so lively. . . nor hath my prose any skill to imitate the Almond leape verse. . . . Onely I can keepe pace with Gravesend barge."—*Epistle* preceding *Astrophel and Stella*, 1591. "Almond (Almain Allemand) leape," a kind of dance: "Sant, Trois pas, et un sant."—Cotgr.

<sup>2</sup> *Lusty pugs.* Pug was occasionally a familiar term of good fellowship or intimacy.

<sup>3</sup> *Wambleth, Rumbleth.*

*Enter* Master Constable *and* Two Watchmen.

*Sam.* Shall we never see thy master, Dares?

*Dar.* Yes; let us go now, for to-morrow Cynthia will be there.

*Epi.* I will go with you ;—but how shall we see for the Watch?

1620

*Sam.* Tush, let me alone ! I'll begin to them. Masters, God speed you.

1 *Watch.* Sir boy, we are all sped already.

*Epi.* [*Aside.*] So methinks, for they smell all of drink, like a beggar's beard.

1625

*Dar.* But I pray, sirs, may we see Endymion?

2 *Watch.* No, we are commanded in Cynthia's name, that no man shall see him.

*Sam.* No man ! Why, we are but boys.

1 *Watch.* Mass, neighbors, he says true, for if I swear I will never drink my liquor by the quart, and yet call for two pints, I think with a safe conscience I may carouse both.

1630

*Dar.* Pithily, and to the purpose.

2 *Watch.* Tush, tush, neighbors, take me with you.<sup>1</sup>

1635

*Sam.* [*Aside.*] This will grow hot.

*Dar.* [*Aside.*] Let them alone.

2 *Watch.* If I say to my wife, Wife, I will have no raisins in my pudding, she puts in currants; small raisins are raisins, and boys are men: even as my wife should have put no raisins in

1640

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<sup>1</sup> *Take me with you.* Let me understand you, satisfy my mind.

my pudding, so shall there no boys see Endymion.

1645 *Dar.* Learnedly.

*Epi.* Let Master Constable speak ; I think he is the wisest among you.

*Master Constable.* You know, neighbors, 'tis an old said saw, "Children and fools speak true."

1650 *All.* True.

*Mast. Const.* Well, there you see the men be the fools, because it is provided from the children.

*Dar.* Good.

1655 *Mast. Const.* Then, say I, neighbors, that children must not see Endymion, because children and fools speak true.

*Epi.* O wicked application !

*Sam.* Scurvily brought about !

1660 *1 Watch.* Nay, he says true, and therefore till Cynthia have been here, he shall not be uncovered. Therefore, away !

*Dar.* A watch, quoth you ! A man may watch seven years for a wise word, and yet go without  
1665 it. Their wits are all as rusty as their bills.<sup>1</sup> But come on, Master Constable, shall we have a song before we go ?

*Mast. Const.* With all my heart.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Bills.* "A weapon much resembling a halbert. On one side was a cutting blade turned like the common bill. There was a spike at the top and on the other side. Bills were sometimes used by the navy, and a large part of the foot-soldiers of Elizabeth's time, from using this weapon,

THE SECOND SONG.<sup>1</sup>

*The Two Watchmen.* Stand ! Who goes there ? 1670  
 We charge you appear  
 'Fore our constable here,  
 In the name of the Man in the Moon.  
 To us billmen relate  
 Why you stagger so late, 1675  
 And how you come drunk so soon.  
*Pages.* What are ye, scabs ?<sup>2</sup>  
*Watch.* The Watch :  
 This the Constable.  
*Pages.* A patch.<sup>3</sup> 1680  
*Const.* Knock 'em down unless they all stand :  
 If any run away,  
 'Tis the old watchman's play,  
 To reach him a bill of his hand.  
*Pages.* O gentlemen, hold, 1685  
 Your gowns freeze with cold,  
 And your rotten teeth dance in your head ;  
*Epi.* Wine, nothing shall cost ye ;  
*Sam.* Nor huge fires to roast ye ;  
*Dares.* Then soberly let us be led. 1690  
*Const.* Come, my brown bills,<sup>4</sup> we'll roar,  
 Bounce loud at tavern door,  
*Omnes.* And i' th' morning steal all to bed.

[*Exeunt all.*]

---

were called billmen. They were used also by sheriff's officers attending executions, and watchmen."—*Dilke.*

<sup>1</sup> *Second Song.* Omitted in first edition, 1591 ; first-printed in Blount's edition of 1632.

<sup>2</sup> *Scabs.* Low, vulgar fellows.

<sup>3</sup> *A patch.* "A fool. The term originated in the proper name of Wolsey's famous fool, which was Patch."—*Fairholt.*

<sup>4</sup> *Brown bills.* Bills were often browned, japanned, to keep them from rust ; and were sometimes black with varnish.



## SCENE III.

CORSITES *solus*. ENDYMION *lies asleep on the lunary bank.*

*Corsites*. I am come in sight of the lunary bank.  
 1695 Without doubt Tellus doteth upon me, and cunningly, that I might not perceive her love, she hath set me to a task that is done before it is begun. Endymion, you must change your pillow, and if you be not weary of sleep, I will carry you  
 1700 where at ease you shall sleep your fill. It were good that without more ceremonies I took him, lest being espied, I be entrapt, and so incur the displeasure of Cynthia, who commonly setteth watch that Endymion have no wrong. [*He tries*  
 1705 *to lift Endymion.*] What now, is your master-ship so heavy, or are you nailed to the ground? Not stir one whit! Then use all thy force, though he feel it and wake! What, stone-still? Turned, I think, to earth with lying so long on  
 1710 the earth. Didst thou not, Corsites, before Cynthia, pull up a tree that forty years was fastened with roots and wreathed in knots to the ground? Didst not thou, with main force, pull open the iron gates which no ram or engine could move?  
 1715 Have my weak thoughts made brawn-fallen<sup>1</sup> my strong arms, or is it the nature of love, or the quintessence of the mind, to breed numbness or litherness,<sup>2</sup> or I know not what languishing in my joints and sinews, being but the base strings

<sup>1</sup> *Made brawn-fallen.* Unnerved.

<sup>2</sup> *Litherness.* A lack of spirit to do anything.—Baret's *Dict.*

of my body? Or doth the remembrance of <sup>1720</sup>  
 Tellus so refine my spirits into a matter so subtle  
 and divine that the other fleshy parts cannot  
 work whilst they muse? Rest thyself, rest thy-  
 self; nay, rend thyself in pieces, Corsites, and  
 strive, in spite of love, fortune, and nature, to lift <sup>1725</sup>  
 up this dulled body, heavier than dead and more  
 senseless than death.

*Enter Fairies.*

But what are these so fair fiends that cause my  
 hairs to stand upright and spirits to fall down?  
 Hags, out!—alas, nymphs, I crave pardon. Ay <sup>1730</sup>  
 me, but what do I hear!

*[The Fairies dance, and with a song pinch  
 him, and he falleth asleep. They kiss  
 Endymion and depart.]*

THE THIRD SONG<sup>1</sup> BY FAIRIES.

*Omnes.* Pinch him; pinch him, black and blue,  
 Saucy mortals must not view  
 What the Queen of Stars is doing, 1735  
 Nor pry into our fairy wooing.

*1 Fairy.* Pinch him blue,

*2 Fairy.* And pinch him black;

*3 Fairy.* Let him not lack

Sharp nails to pinch him blue and red, 1740  
 Till sleep has rocked his addle head.

*4 Fairy.* For the trespass he hath done,

Spots o'er all his flesh shall run.

Kiss Endymion, kiss his eyes,

Then to our midnight heidegyes.<sup>2</sup> 1745

<sup>1</sup> *Third Song.* First printed by Blount.

<sup>2</sup> *Heidegyes.* A country dance or round. Originally, perhaps, heyday guise.—See *Cent. Dict.*

*Enter, at the side of the stage opposite* CORSITES, CYNTHIA, FLOSCULA, SEMELE, PANELION, ZONTES, PYTHAGORAS, *and* GYPTES. CORSITES *sleeps still.*

*Cynth.* You see, Pythagoras, what ridiculous opinions you hold, and I doubt not but you are now of another mind.

*Pythag.* Madam, I plainly perceive that the  
1750 perfection of your brightness hath pierced through the thickness that covered my mind ; insomuch that I am no less glad to be reformed than ashamed to remember my grossness.

*Gyptes.* They are thrice fortunate that live in  
1755 your palace, where truth is not in colors but life, virtues not in imagination but execution.

*Cynth.* I have always studied to have rather living virtues than painted gods, the body of truth than the tomb. But let us walk to En-  
1760 dymion ;<sup>1</sup> it may be it lieth in your arts to deliver him ; as for Eumenides, I fear he is dead.

*Pythag.* I have alleged all the natural reasons I can for such a long sleep.

1765 *Gyptes.* I can do nothing till I see him.

*Cynth.* Come, Floscula ; I am sure you are glad that you shall behold Endymion.

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<sup>1</sup> *Walk to Endymion.* The dialogue from " I fear he is dead " to " behold Endymion " was given as the characters walked slowly across the stage towards Endymion and Corsites,

*Flosc.* I were blessed, if I might have him recovered.

*Cynth.* Are you in love with his person? 1770

*Flosc.* No, but with his virtue.

*Cynth.* What say you, Semele?

*Sem.* Madam, I dare say nothing for fear I offend.

*Cynth.* Belike you cannot speak except you be 1775  
spiteful; but as good be silent as saucy. Panelion, what punishment were fit for Semele, in whose speech and thoughts is only contempt and sourness?

*Panel.* I love not, madam, to give any judg- 1780  
ment; yet, sith Your Highness commandeth, I think to commit her tongue close prisoner to her mouth.

*Cynth.* Agreed. Semele, if thou speak this  
twelvemonth, thou shalt forfeit thy tongue. 1785  
Behold Endymion! Alas, poor gentleman, hast thou spent thy youth in sleep, that once vowed all to my service! Hollow eyes, gray hairs, wrinkled cheeks, and decayed limbs! Is it destiny or deceit that hath brought this to pass? 1790  
If the first, who could prevent thy wretched stars? If the latter, I would I might know thy cruel enemy. I favored thee, Endymion, for thy honor, thy virtues, thy affections; but, to bring thy thoughts within the compass of thy 1795  
fortunes, I have seemed strange that I might have thee staid, and now are thy days ended

before my favor begin. But whom have we here? Is it not Corsites?

1800 *Zon.* It is, but more like a leopard<sup>1</sup> than a man.

*Cynth.* Awake him. [*Zontes awakens Corsites.*  
How now, Corsites, what make you here? How came you deformed? Look on thy hands, and  
1805 then thou seest the picture of thy face.

*Cors.* Miserable wretch, and accursed! How am I deluded! Madam, I ask pardon for my offence, and you see my fortune deserveth pity.

*Cynth.* Speak on; thy offence cannot deserve  
1810 greater punishment: but see thou rehearse the truth, else shalt thou not find me as thou wishest me.

*Cors.* Madam, as it is no offence to be in love, being a man mortal, so I hope can it be no  
1815 shame to tell with whom, my lady being heavenly. Your Majesty committed to my charge the fair Tellus, whose beauty in the same moment took my heart captive that I undertook to carry her body prisoner. Since that time have I found  
1820 such combats in my thoughts between love and duty, reverence and affection, that I could neither endure the conflict, nor hope for the conquest.

*Cynth.* In love? A thing far unfitting the  
1825 name of a captain, and (as I thought) the tough and unsmoothed nature of Corsites. But forth!

---

<sup>1</sup> *Like a leopard.* "Spots o'er all his flesh shall run."—*Fairies' Song.*

*Cors.* Feeling this continual war, I thought rather by parley to yield than by certain danger to perish. I unfolded to Tellus the depth of my affections, and framed my tongue to utter a sweet <sup>1830</sup> tale of love, that was wont to sound nothing but threats of war. She, too fair to be true and too false for one so fair, after a nice denial, practised a notable deceit, commanding me to remove Endymion from this cabin, and carry him to <sup>1835</sup> some dark cave; which I, seeking to accomplish, found impossible; and so by fairies or fiends have been thus handled.

*Cynth.* How say you, my lords, is not Tellus always practising of some deceits? In sooth, <sup>1840</sup> Corsites, thy face is now too foul for a lover, and thine heart too fond for a soldier. You may see when warriors become wantons how their manners alter with their faces. Is it not a shame, Corsites, that having lived so long in <sup>1845</sup> Mars's camp, thou shouldst now be rocked in Venus's cradle? Dost thou wear Cupid's quiver at thy girdle and make lances of looks? Well, Corsites, rouse thyself and be as thou hast been; and let Tellus, who is made all of love, melt her- <sup>1850</sup> self in her own looseness.

*Cors.* Madam, I doubt not but to recover my former state, for Tellus's beauty never wrought such love in my mind as now her deceit hath despite; and yet to be revenged of a woman <sup>1855</sup> were a thing than love itself more womanish.

*Gyptes.* These spots, gentleman, are to be

worn out, if you rub them over with this lunny;  
so that in the place where you received this  
1860 maim you shall find a medicine.

*Cors.* I thank you for that. The gods bless  
me from love and these pretty ladies<sup>1</sup> that haunt  
this green.

*Flosc.* Corsites, I would Tellus saw your amia-  
1865 ble face. [SEMELE laughs.

*Zont.* How spitefully Semele laugheth, that  
dare not speak.

*Cynthia.* Could you not stir Endymion with  
that doubled strength of yours?

1870 *Cors.* Not so much as his finger with all my  
force.

*Cynth.* Pythagoras and Gyptes, what think you  
of Endymion? What reason is to be given,  
what remedy?

1875 *Pyth.* Madam, it is impossible to yield reason  
for things that happen not in compass of nature.  
It is most certain that some strange enchant-  
ment hath bound all his senses.

*Cynth.* What say you, Gyptes?

1880 *Gyptes.* With Pythagoras, that it is enchant-  
ment, and that so strange that no art can undo  
it, for that heaviness argueth a malice unremov-  
able in the enchantress, and that no power can  
end it, till she die that did it, or the heavens  
1885 show some means more miraculous.

*Flosc.* O Endymion, could spite itself devise  
a mischief so monstrous as to make thee dead

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<sup>1</sup> *Ladies.* The fairies.

with life, and living, being altogether dead? Where others number their years, their hours, their minutes, and step to age by stairs, thou only hast thy years and times in a cluster, being old before thou rememberest thou wast young.

*Cynth.* No more, Floscula; pity doth him no good: I would anything else might; and I vow by the unspotted honor of a lady he should not miss it. But is this all, Gyptes, that is to be done?

*Gyptes.* All as yet. It may be that either the enchantress shall die or else be discovered; if either happen, I will then practise the utmost of my art. In the mean season, about this grove would I have a watch, and the first living thing that toucheth Endymion to be taken.

*Cynth.* Corsites, what say you, will you undertake this?

*Cors.* Good madam, pardon me! I was overtaken<sup>1</sup> too late. I should rather break into the midst of a main battle than again fall into the hands of those fair babies.<sup>2</sup>

*Cynth.* Well, I will provide others. Pythagoras and Gyptes, you shall yet remain in my court, till I hear what may be done in this matter.

*Pyth.* We attend.

*Cynth.* Let us go in. [Exeunt all.]

<sup>1</sup> *Overtaken.* Overcome.

<sup>2</sup> *Fair babies.* "The fairies. Popularly they were believed to be very diminutive."—*Fairholt.*



## ACT THE FIFTH.

## SCENE I.

*Enter SAMIAS and DARES.*

*Samias.* Eumenides hath told such strange tales as I may well wonder at them, but never believe them.

*Dar.* The other old man, what a sad speech  
1920 used he, that caused us almost all to weep.  
Cynthia is so desirous to know the experiment  
of her own virtue, and so willing to ease Endymion's hard fortune, that she no sooner heard the discourse but she made herself in a readiness  
1925 to try the event.

*Sam.* We will also see the event. But whist, here cometh Cynthia with all her train. Let us sneak in amongst them.

*Enter CYNTHIA, FLOSCULA, SEMELE, EUMENIDES, PANELION,<sup>1</sup> ZONTES, PYTHAGORAS, and GYPTES.*

*Cynth.* Eumenides, it cannot sink into my  
1930 head that I should be signified by that sacred fountain, for many things are there in the world to which those words may be applied.

*Eum.* Good madam, vouchsafe but to try;

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<sup>1</sup> *Panelion.* Here the texts of Fairholt, Dilke, and Blount read "Panelion, etc." The editor has supplied the new names from the list of those attending Cynthia at her last entrance.

else shall I think myself most unhappy that I asked not my sweet mistress.<sup>1</sup> 1935

*Cynth.* Will you not yet tell me her name?

*Eum.* Pardon me, good madam, for if Endymion awake, he shall; myself have sworn never to reveal it.

*Cynth.* Well, let us to Endymion. I will not be so stately, good Endymion, not to stoop to do thee good, and if thy liberty consist in a kiss from me, thou shalt have it; and although my mouth hath been heretofore as untouched as my thoughts, yet now to recover thy life, though to restore thy youth it be impossible, I will do that to Endymion which yet never mortal man could boast of heretofore, nor shall ever hope for hereafter. [She kisseth him. 1940 1945 1950

*Eum.* Madam, he beginneth to stir. 1950

*Cynth.* Soft, Eumenides; stand still.

*Eum.* Ah, I see his eyes almost open.

*Cynth.* I command thee once again, stir not: I will stand behind him.

*Pan.* What do I see,—Endymion almost awake! 1955

*Eum.* Endymion, Endymion, art thou deaf or dumb, or hath this long sleep taken away thy memory? Ah, my sweet Endymion, seest thou not Eumenides, thy faithful friend, thy faithful Eumenides, who for thy safety hath been care- 1960

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<sup>1</sup> *Asked not my sweet mistress.* Asked not for my sweet mistress, Semele, as the one request allowed from the fountain.

less of his own content? Speak, Endymion,—  
Endymion,—Endymion!

*End.* Endymion? I call to mind such a  
1965 name.

*Eum.* Hast thou forgotten thyself, Endymion?  
Then do I not marvel thou rememberest not thy  
friend. I tell thee thou art Endymion and I  
Eumenides. Behold also Cynthia, by whose  
1970 favor thou art awaked, and by whose virtue thou  
shalt continue thy natural course.

*Cynth.* Endymion, speak, sweet Endymion!  
Knowest thou not Cynthia?

*End.* O heavens, whom do I behold? Fair  
1975 Cynthia, divine Cynthia?

*Cynth.* I am Cynthia, and thou Endymion.

*End.* "Endymion"! What do I hear? What,  
a gray beard, hollow eyes, withered body, de-  
cayed limbs,—and all in one night?

1980 *Eum.* One night! Thou hast here slept forty  
years,<sup>1</sup> — by what enchantress as yet it is not  
known,—and behold, the twig to which thou  
laidest thy head is now become a tree. Callest  
thou not Eumenides to remembrance?

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<sup>1</sup> *Forty years.* If these words are taken literally, there is evidently a slip here on Lyly's part. In Act III., Sc. 4, Eumenides says that Endymion has been in a deep sleep "almost these twenty years," and since that scene little time seems to have elapsed. Moreover, these years seem to have brought changes to Endymion only: all the other characters remain unchanged. Twenty and forty were, however, often used by the old dramatists simply for an indefinite number.

*End.* Thy name I do remember by the sound, <sup>1985</sup> but thy favor <sup>1</sup> I do not yet call to mind ; only divine Cynthia, to whom time, fortune, destiny, and death are subject, I see and remember, and in all humility I regard and reverence.

*Cynth.* You have good cause to remember <sup>1990</sup> Eumenides, who hath for thy safety forsaken his own solace.

*End.* Am I that Endymion who was wont in court to lead my life, and in justs, tourneys, <sup>2</sup> and arms, to exercise my youth ? Am I that Endy- <sup>1995</sup> mion ?

*Eum.* Thou art that Endymion, and I Eumenides : wilt thou not yet call me to remembrance ?

*End.* Ah, sweet Eumenides, I now perceive <sup>2000</sup> thou art he, and that myself have the name of Endymion ; but that this should be my body I doubt, for how could my curled locks be turned to gray hairs and my strong body to a dying weakness, having waxed old, and not knowing <sup>2005</sup> it.

*Cynth.* Well, Endymion, arise. [*Endymion, trying to rise, sinks back.*] Awhile sit down, for that thy limbs are stiff and not able to stay <sup>3</sup> thee,

<sup>1</sup> *Favor.* Features, face.

<sup>2</sup> *Justs, tourneys.* "The tournament was a conflict with many knights, divided into parties, and engaged at the same time; the 'just' was a separate trial of skill, where only one man was opposed to another."—Strut's *Sports and Pastimes.*

<sup>3</sup> *Stay.* Support.

2010 and tell what hast thou seen in thy sleep all this while,—what dreams, visions, thoughts, and fortunes ; for it is impossible but in so long time thou shouldst see things strange.

*End.* Fair Cynthia, I will rehearse what I have  
2015 seen, humbly desiring that when I exceed in length, you give me warning, that I may end ; for to utter all I have to speak would be troublesome, although haply the strangeness may somewhat abate the tediousness.

2020 *Cynth.* Well, Endymion, begin.

*End.* Methought I saw a lady passing fair, but very mischievous, who in the one hand carried a knife with which she offered to cut my throat, and in the other a looking-glass, wherein seeing  
2025 how ill anger became ladies, she refrained from intended violence. She was accompanied with other damsels, one of which, with a stern countenance, and as it were with a settled malice engraven in her eyes, provoked her to execute  
2030 mischief ; another, with visage sad, and constant only in sorrow, with her arms crossed, and watery eyes, seemed to lament my fortune, but durst not offer to prevent the force. I started in my sleep, feeling my very veins to swell and  
2035 my sinews to stretch with fear, and such a cold sweat bedewed all my body that death itself could not be so terrible as the vision.

*Cynth.* A strange sight : Gyptes, at our better leisure, shall expound it.

2040 *End.* After long debating with herself, mercy

overcame anger, and there appeared in her heavenly face such a divine majesty mingled with a sweet mildness that I was ravished with the sight above measure, and wished that I might have enjoyed the sight without end ; and so she departed with the other ladies, of which the one retained still an unmovable cruelty, the other a constant pity. 2045

*Cynth.* Poor Endymion, how wast thou affrighted ! What else ? 2050

*End.* After her, immediately appeared an aged man with a beard as white as snow, carrying in his hand a book with three leaves, and speaking, as I remember, these words: *Endymion, receive this book with three leaves, in which are contained counsels, policies, and pictures,* and with that he offered me the book, which I rejected ; where-with, moved with a disdainful pity, he rent the first leaf in a thousand shivers. The second time he offered it, which I refused also ; at which, bending his brows, and pitching his eyes fast to the ground, as though they were fixed to the earth, and not again to be removed, then suddenly casting them up to the heavens, he tore in a rage the second leaf, and offered the book only with one leaf. I know not whether fear to offend or desire to know some strange thing moved me,—I took the book, and so the old man vanished. 2060 2065

*Cynth.* What didst thou imagine was in the last leaf ? 2070

*End.* There portrayed to life, with a cold quaking in every joint, I beheld many wolves barking at thee, Cynthia, who having ground their teeth to bite, did with striving bleed themselves to death. There might I see Ingratitude with an hundred eyes gazing for benefits, and with a thousand teeth gnawing on the bowels wherein she was bred; Treachery stood all clothed in white, with a smiling countenance, but both her hands bathed in blood; Envy with a pale and meagre face (whose body was so lean that one might tell all her bones, and whose garment was so tattered that it was easy to number every thread) stood shooting at stars, whose darts fell down again on her own face. There might I behold drones or beetles—I know not how to term them—creeping under the wings of a princely eagle, who, being carried into her nest, sought there to suck that vein that would have killed the eagle. I mused that things so base should attempt a fact so barbarous, or durst imagine a thing so bloody,—and many other things, madam, the repetition whereof may at your better leisure seem more pleasing, for bees surfeit sometimes with honey, and the gods are glutted with harmony, and Your Highness may be dulled with delight.

*Cynth.* I am content to be dieted; therefore, let us in. Eumenides, see that Endymion be well tended, lest either eating immoderately or sleeping again too long, he fall into a deadly sur-

feit or into his former sleep. See this also be proclaimed: that whosoever will discover this practice<sup>1</sup> shall have of Cynthia infinite thanks and <sup>2105</sup> no small rewards.

[*Exeunt all except* ENDYMION,  
EUMENIDES, FLOSCULA *and* SEMELE.]

*Flosc.* Ah, Endymion, none so joyful as Floscula of thy restoring.

*Eum.* Yes, Floscula, let Eumenides be somewhat gladder, and do not that wrong to the settled <sup>2110</sup> friendship of a man as to compare it with the light affection of a woman. Ah, my dear friend Endymion, suffer me to die with gazing at thee.

*End.* Eumenides, thy friendship is immortal <sup>2115</sup> and not to be conceived; and thy good will, Floscula, better than I have deserved; but let us all wait on Cynthia. I marvel Semele speaketh not a word.

*Eum.* Because if she do, she loseth her tongue. <sup>2120</sup>

*End.* But how prospereth your love?

*Eum.* I never yet spake word since your sleep.

*End.* I doubt not but your affection is old and your appetite cold.

*Eum.* No, Endymion, thine hath made it <sup>2125</sup> stronger, and now are my sparks grown to flames and my fancies almost to frenzies: but let us follow, and within we will debate all this matter at large. [*Exeunt all.*]

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<sup>1</sup> *Discover this practice.* Expose the plot, i.e. the author of the enchantment of Endymion,



## SCENE II.

*Enter Sir TOPHAS and EPITON.*

<sup>2130</sup> *Top.* Epi, Love hath justled my liberty from the wall,<sup>1</sup> and taken the upper hand of my reason.

*Epi.* Let me then trip up the heels of your affection and thrust your good will into the  
<sup>2135</sup> gutter.

*Top.* No, Epi, Love is a lord of misrule<sup>2</sup> and keepeth Christmas in my corps.

*Epi.* No doubt there is good cheer: what dishes of delight doth his lordship feast you  
<sup>2140</sup> with withal?

*Top.* First, with a great platter of plum porridge of pleasure, wherein is stewed the mutton of mistrust.

<sup>1</sup> *From the wall.* In Queen Elizabeth's time, when two men met in the street, the inferior in rank was supposed to let his superior pass between him and the wall. Many squabbles arose over this point in every-day etiquette, and references to the custom and to contests arising from it are constant in the Elizabethan drama. "To take the wall of" came to be a phrase for getting the better of a man, and it often connoted some force. Here Sir Tophas's "liberty is *justled* from the wall" and Epiton talks of "tripping heels."

<sup>2</sup> *Lord of misrule.* The Lord or Abbot of Misrule, or the Master of Merry Disports, was a person, generally an inferior, chosen at the universities, the inns of court, the noblemen's houses, and even at court, to preside over and sometimes to provide the Christmas entertainment. The Lord of Misrule, during his term of office, was in absolute control,

*Epi.* Excellent love-pap.<sup>1</sup>

*Top.* Then cometh a pie of patience, a hen<sup>2145</sup> of honey, a goose of gall, a capon of care, and many other viands, some sweet and some sour, which proveth love to be, as was said of it<sup>2</sup> in old years, *Dulce venenum*.

*Epi.* A brave banquet! 2150

*Top.* But, *Epi*, I pray thee feel on my chin; something pricketh me. What dost thou feel or see?

*Epi.* There are three or four little hairs.

*Top.* I pray thee call it my beard. How<sup>2155</sup> shall I be troubled when this young spring<sup>3</sup> shall grow to a great wood!

*Epi.* Oh, sir, your chin is but a quiller<sup>4</sup> yet; you will be most majestical when it is full-fledged. But I marvel that you love *Dipsas*,<sup>2160</sup> that old crone.

*Top.* *Agnosco veteris vestigia flammæ*;<sup>5</sup> I love the smoke of an old fire.

*Epi.* Why she is so cold that no fire can thaw her thoughts. 2165

<sup>1</sup> *Love-pap.* Fairholt, Dilke, and Blount print "love lap," reproducing what was evidently a printer's error,—repeating the *l* from "love."

<sup>2</sup> *As was said of it.* *As it was said of* in Blount, Dilke, and Fairholt.

<sup>3</sup> *Spring.* A grove of trees.

<sup>4</sup> *Quiller.* An unfledged bird. "But in this time quills began to bud again in the bird, which made him look as though he would fly up."—Act iv., Sc. 3, *Sapho and Phao*,

<sup>5</sup> *Agnosco, etc.* Virgil, *Aeneid*, book iv., l. 23.

*Top.* It is an old goose, *Epi*, that will eat no oats; old kine will kick, old rats gnaw cheese, and old sacks will have much patching: I prefer an old coney<sup>1</sup> before a rabbit-sucker, and an ancient hen before a young chicken-  
2170 peeper.

*Epi.* [*Aside.*] *Argumentum ab antiquitate*; my master loveth antique work.

*Top.* Give me a pippin that is withered like  
2175 an old wife!

*Epi.* Good, sir.

*Top.* Then,—*a contrario sequitur argumentum*,—give me a wife that looks like an old pippin.

*Epi.* [*Aside.*] Nothing hath made my master  
2180 a fool but flat scholarship.

*Top.* Knowest thou not that old wine is best?

*Epi.* Yes.

*Top.* And thou knowest that like will to like?

*Epi.* Ay.

2185 *Top.* And thou knowest that Venus loved the best wine?

*Epi.* So.

*Top.* Then I conclude that Venus was an old woman in an old cup of wine, for *est Venus*<sup>2</sup>  
2190 *in vinis, ignis in igne fuit.*

*Epi.* *O lepidum caput*,<sup>3</sup> O madcap master! You

<sup>1</sup> *Coney.* A rabbit; *rabbit-sucker*, a sucking rabbit; *chicken-peeper*, a chick just out of the shell.

<sup>2</sup> *Est Venus.* Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, i., 244; with *et* for *est*.

<sup>3</sup> *O lepidum.* Compare Plautus, *Most.*, ii., 3, 12.

were worthy to win Dipsas, were she as old again, for in your love you have worn the nap of your wit quite off and made it threadbare. But soft, who comes here?

2195

*Top.* My solicitors.

*Enter SAMIAS and DARES.*

*Sam.* All hail, Sir Tophas; how feel you yourself?

*Top.* Stately in every joint, which the common people term stiffness. Doth Dipsas stoop? Will she yield? Will she bend?

2200

*Dar.* Oh, sir, as much as you would wish,<sup>1</sup> for her chin almost toucheth her knees.

*Epi.* Master, she is bent, I warrant you.

*Top.* What conditions doth she ask?

2205

*Sam.* She hath vowed she will never love any that hath not a tooth in his head less than she.

*Top.* How many hath she?

*Dar.* One.

*Epi.* That goeth hard, master, for then you must have none.

2210

*Top.* A small request, and agreeable to the gravity of her years. What should a wise man do with his mouth full of bones like a charnel-house? The turtle<sup>2</sup> true hath ne'er a tooth.

2215

*Sam.* [*Aside*]. Thy master is in a notable vein, that will lose his teeth to be like a turtle.

<sup>1</sup> *Wish.* Is the rest of the sentence an aside?

<sup>2</sup> *Turtle.* Turtle-dove.

*Epi.* [*Aside.*] Let him lose his tongue, too ;  
I care not.

2220 *Dar.* Nay, you must also have no nails, for  
she long since hath cast hers.

*Top.* That I yield to. What a quiet life shall  
Dipsas and I lead when we can neither bite nor  
scratch! You may see, youths, how age pro-  
2225 vides for peace.

*Sam.* [*Aside.*] How shall we do to make  
him leave his love, for we never spake to her?

*Dar.* [*Aside.*] Let me alone. [*To* SIR TOPHAS.]  
She is a notable witch, and hath turned her  
2230 maid Bagoa to an aspen tree, for bewraying her  
secrets.

*Top.* I honor her for her cunning, for now  
when I am weary of walking on two legs, what a  
pleasure may she do me to turn me to some  
2235 goodly ass, and help me to four.

*Dar.* Nay, then I must tell you the truth :  
her husband, Geron, is come home, who this  
fifty years hath had her to wife.

*Top.* What do I hear? Hath she an husband?  
2240 Go to the sexton and tell him desire is dead,  
and will him to dig his grave. O heavens, an  
husband! What death is agreeable<sup>1</sup> to my for-  
tune?

*Sam.* Be not desperate, and we will help you  
2245 to find a young lady.

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<sup>1</sup> *Agreeable to my fortune.* Agrees with, befits my fortune.

*Top.* I love no grissels<sup>1</sup>; they are so brittle they will crack like glass, or so dainty that if they be touched they are straight of the fashion of wax; *animus majoribus instat*,<sup>2</sup> I desire old matrons. What a sight would it be to embrace<sup>2250</sup> one whose hair were as orient as the pearl, whose teeth shall be so pure a watchet<sup>3</sup> that they shall stain the truest turquoise, whose nose shall throw more beams from it than the fiery carbuncle, whose eyes shall be environed about<sup>2255</sup> with redness exceeding the deepest coral, and whose lips might compare with silver for the paleness! Such a one if you can help me to, I will by piecemeal curtal<sup>4</sup> my affections towards Dipsas, and walk my swelling thoughts till they<sup>2260</sup> be cold.

*Epi.* Wisely provided. How say you, my friends, will you angle for my master's cause?

*Sam.* Most willingly.

*Dar.* If we speed him not<sup>5</sup> shortly, I will burn<sup>2265</sup> my cap. We will serve him of the spades, and dig an old wife out of the grave that shall be answerable to his gravity.

<sup>1</sup> *Grissels.* Primarily, from Patient Grissel; then, weak women; here young women, girls.

<sup>2</sup> *Animus.* Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, ii., 535.

<sup>3</sup> *Watchet.* Pale blue.

<sup>4</sup> *Curtal.* Lyly plays upon curtal, a bob-tailed horse, and curtail.

<sup>5</sup> *Speed him not.* Bring him not to success, prosper him not.

*Top.* Youths, adieu ; he that bringeth me first  
2270 news, shall possess mine inheritance.

[*Exit* Sir TOPHAS.

*Dar.* What, is thy master landed ?

*Epi.* Know you not that my master is *liber*  
*tenens* ?

*Sam.* What's that ?

2275 *Epi.* A freeholder. But I will after him.

[*Exit* EPITON.

*Sam.* And we to hear what news of Endymion for the conclusion.

[*Exeunt, at the opposite side, SAMIAS and DARES.*

### SCENE III.

*Enter* PANELION and ZONTES.

*Pan.* Who would have thought that Tellus,  
being so fair by nature, so honorable by birth,  
2280 so wise by education, would have entered into a  
mischief to the gods so odious, to men so detestable,  
and to her friend so malicious.

*Zon.* If Bagoa had not bewrayed it, how then  
should it have come to light ? But we see that  
2285 gold and fair words are of force to corrupt the  
strongest men, and therefore able to work silly  
women like wax.

*Pan.* I marvel what Cynthia will determine in  
this cause.

2290 *Zon.* I fear as in all causes—hear of it in justice,  
and then judge of it in mercy ; for how  
can it be that she that is unwilling to punish her

deadliest foes with disgrace, will revenge injuries of her train with death.

*Pan.* That old witch, Dipsas, in a rage, having understood her practice to be discovered, turned poor Bagoa to an aspen tree. But let us make haste and bring Tellus before Cynthia, for she was coming out after us. 2295

*Zon.* Let us go. 2300

[*Exeunt, on one side, PANELION and ZONTES; enter, at the other side, CYNTHIA, SEMELE, FLOSCULA, DIPSAS, ENDYMION, EUMENIDES, GERON, PYTHAGORAS, GYPTES, and Sir TOPHAS.*]

*Cynth.* Dipsas, thy years are not so many as thy vices, yet more in number than commonly nature doth afford or justice should permit. Hast thou almost these fifty years practised that detested wickedness of witchcraft? Wast thou, so simple as for to know the nature of simples, of all creatures to be most sinful? Thou hast threatened to turn my course awry and alter by thy damnable art the government that I now possess by the eternal gods, but know thou, Dipsas, and let all the enchanters know, that Cynthia, being placed for light on earth, is also protected by the powers of heaven. Breathe out thou mayest words; gather thou mayest herbs; find out thou mayest stones agreeable to thine art; yet of no force<sup>1</sup> to appal my heart, 2310  
2315

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<sup>1</sup> *Yet of no force.* Yet all will be of no force.



in which courage is so rooted, and constant persuasion of the mercy of the gods so grounded, that all thy witchcraft I esteem as weak as the  
2320 world doth thy case wretched. This noble gentleman, Geron,—once thy husband but now thy mortal hate,—didst thou procure to live in a desert, almost desperate ; Endymion, the flower of my court and the hope of succeeding time, hast  
2325 thou bewitched by art, before thou wouldst suffer him to flourish by nature.

*Dipsas.* Madam, things past may be repented, not recalled : there is nothing so wicked that I have not done, nor anything so wished for as  
2330 death ; yet among all the things that I committed, there is nothing so much tormenteth my rented and ransacked thoughts as that in the prime of my husband's youth I divorced him by my devilish art ; for which if to die might be  
2335 amends, I would not live till to-morrow ; if to live and still be more miserable would better content him, I would wish of all creatures to be oldest and ugliest.

*Geron.* Dipsas, thou hast made this difference  
2340 between me and Endymion, that being both young, thou hast caused me to wake in melancholy, losing the joys of my youth, and him to sleep, not remembering youth.

*Cynth.* Stay, here cometh Tellus ; we shall  
2345 now know all.

*Re-enter* PANELION and ZONTES, with CORSITES  
and TELLUS.

*Cors.* I would to Cynthia thou couldst make  
as good an excuse in truth as to me thou hast  
done by wit.

*Tellus.* Truth shall be mine answer, and there-  
fore I will not study for an excuse.

*Cynth.* Is it possible, Tellus, that so few years  
should harbor so many mischiefs? Thy swell-  
ing pride have I borne, because it is a thing that  
beauty maketh blameless, which the more it ex-  
ceedeth fairness in measure, the more it stretch-  
eth itself in disdain. Thy devices against Cor-  
sites I smile at, for that wits, the sharper they  
are, the shrewder<sup>1</sup> they are; but this unacquaint-  
ed<sup>2</sup> and most unnatural practice<sup>3</sup> with a vile  
enchantress against so noble a gentleman as  
Endymion I abhor as a thing most malicious,  
and will revenge as a deed most monstrous.  
And as for you, Dipsas, I will send you into the  
desert amongst wild beasts, and try whether you  
can cast lions, tigers, boars, and bears into  
dead a sleep as you did Endymion, or turn them  
to trees, as you have done Bagoa. But tell me,  
Tellus, what was the cause of this cruel part,<sup>4</sup> far  
unfitting thy sex, in which nothing should be but

<sup>1</sup> *Shrewder.* More knavish, mischievous.

<sup>2</sup> *Unacquainted.* Unheard of.

<sup>3</sup> *Practice.* Plot.

<sup>4</sup> *Part.* Act, conduct.

2370 simpleness, and much disagreeing from thy face,  
in which nothing seemed to be but softness.

*Tellus.* Divine Cynthia, by whom I receive  
my life and am content to end it, I can neither  
excuse my fault without lying, nor confess it  
2375 without shame ; yet were it possible that in so  
heavenly thoughts as yours there could fall such  
earthly motions as mine, I would then hope, if  
not to be pardoned without extreme punishment,  
yet to be heard without great marvel.

2380 *Cynth.* Say on, Tellus ; I cannot imagine any  
thing that can color such a cruelty.

*Tellus.* Endymion, that Endymion, in the  
prime of his youth, so ravished my heart with  
love, that to obtain my desires I could not find  
2385 means, nor to recite them reason. What was  
she that favored not Endymion, being young,  
wise, honorable, and virtuous ; besides, what  
metal was she made of (be she mortal) that is  
not affected with the spice, nay infected with  
2390 the poison of that not-to-be-expressed yet  
always-to-be-felt love, which breaketh the brains  
and never bruiseeth the brow, consumeth the  
heart and never toucheth the skin, and maketh  
a deep scar to be seen before any wound at all  
2395 be felt. My heart, too tender to withstand such  
a divine fury, yielded to love. Madam, I, not  
without blushing, confess I yielded<sup>1</sup> to love.

*Cynth.* A strange effect of love, to work such

---

<sup>1</sup> *I yielded.* Blount, Dilke, Fairholt read : " I, not  
without blushing, confess, yielded."

an extreme hate. How say you, Endymion?  
All this was for love. 2400

*End.* I say, madam, then the gods send me a woman's hate.

*Cynth.* That were as bad, for then by contrary you should never sleep. But on, Tellus ; let us hear the end. 2405

*Tellus.* Feeling a continual burning in all my bowels and a bursting almost in every vein, I could not smother the inward fire, but it must needs be perceived by the outward smoke ; and by the flying abroad of divers sparks, divers 2410 judged of my scalding flames. Endymion, as full of art as wit, marking mine eyes, (in which he might see almost his own,) my sighs, (by which he might ever hear his name sounded,) aimed at my heart, in which he was assured his 2415 person was imprinted, and by questions wrung out that which was ready to burst out. When he saw the depth of my affections, he swore that mine in respect of his were as fumes to Ætna, valleys to Alps, ants to eagles, and nothing 2420 could be compared to my beauty but his love and eternity. Thus drawing a smooth shoe upon a crooked foot, he made me believe that (which all of our sex willingly acknowledge) I was beautiful, and to wonder (which indeed is a 2425 thing miraculous) that any of his sex should be faithful.

*Cynth.* Endymion, how will you clear yourself ?

2430 *End.* Madam, by mine own accuser.

*Cynth.* Well, Tellus, proceed ; but briefly, lest taking delight in uttering thy love, thou offend us with the length of it.

*Tellus.* I will, madam, quickly make an end of  
2435 my love and my tale. Finding continual increase of my tormenting thoughts, and that the enjoying of my love made deeper wounds than the entering into it, I could find no means to ease my grief but to follow Endymion, and continually to have him in the object of mine eyes  
2440 who had me slave and subject to his love ; but in the moment that I feared his falsehood and tried myself most in mine affections, I found—ah, grief, even then I lost myself !—I found him  
2445 in most melancholy and desperate terms cursing his stars, his state, the earth, the heavens, the world, and all for the love of—

*Cynth.* Of whom? Tellus, speak boldly.

*Tellus.* Madam, I dare not utter, for fear to  
2450 offend.

*Cynth.* Speak, I say ; who dare take offence, if thou be commanded by Cynthia?

*Tellus.* For the love of Cynthia.

*Cynth.* For my love, Tellus? That were  
2455 strange. Endymion, is it true?

*End.* In all things, madam, Tellus doth not speak false.

*Cynth.* What will this breed to in the end? Well, Endymion, we shall hear all.

2469 *Tellus.* I, seeing my hopes turned to mishaps,

and a settled dissembling towards me, and an immovable desire to Cynthia, forgetting both myself and my sex, fell into this unnatural hate ; for knowing your virtues, Cynthia, to be immortal, I could not have an imagination <sup>1</sup> to withdraw <sup>2465</sup> him ; and finding mine own affections unquenchable, I could not carry the mind <sup>2</sup> that any else should possess what I had pursued ; for though in majesty, beauty, virtue, and dignity, I always humbled and yielded myself to Cynthia, yet in <sup>2470</sup> affections I esteemed myself equal with the goddesses, and all other creatures, according to their states, with myself ;<sup>3</sup> for stars to <sup>4</sup> their bigness have their lights, and the sun hath no more, and little pitchers, when they can hold no more, are <sup>2475</sup> as full as great vessels that run over. Thus, madam, in all truth, have I uttered the unhappiness of my love and the cause of my hate, yielding wholly to that divine judgment which never

<sup>1</sup> *Could not have an imagination.* Could not imagine, fancy, that I could withdraw him.

<sup>2</sup> *Carry the mind.* Bear to think.

<sup>3</sup> *With myself.* The meaning seems to be : In dignity I was unequal to Cynthia and the gods, in feelings (affections) I was their equal ; and, as I was equal to my superiors, the gods, in this respect, so all lower creatures—my inferiors in dignity—were according to their capacities, (states, conditions,) equal to me in feelings.

<sup>4</sup> *To.* According to,

2480 erred for want of wisdom or envied for too much  
partiality.

*Cynth.* How say you, my lords, to this matter?  
But what say you, Endymion; hath Tellus told  
truth?

2485 *End.* Madam, in all things but in that she  
said I loved her and swore to honor her.

*Cynth.* Was there such a time whenas for my  
love thou didst vow thyself to death, and in re-  
spect of it loathed thy life? Speak, Endymion;  
2490 I will not revenge it with hate.

*End.* The time was, madam, and is, and ever  
shall be, that I honored Your Highness above all  
the world, but to stretch it so far as to call it  
love I never durst. There hath none pleased  
2495 mine eye but Cynthia, none delighted mine ears  
but Cynthia, none possessed my heart but Cyn-  
thia. I have forsaken all other fortunes to fol-  
low Cynthia, and here I stand ready to die, if  
it please Cynthia. Such a difference hath the  
2500 gods set between our states that all must be  
duty, loyalty, and reverence; nothing (without  
Your Highness vouchsafe it<sup>1</sup>) be termed love.  
My unspotted thoughts, my languishing body,  
my discontented life, let them obtain by princely  
2505 favor that which to challenge they must not  
presume, only wishing of impossibilities; with  
imagination of which I will spend my spirits,  
and to myself, that no creature may hear, softly

---

<sup>1</sup> *Vouchsafe it.* Blount, Dilke, and Fairholt read;  
"Without it vouchsafe your highness."

call it love, and if any urge to utter what I whisper, then will I name it honor. From this <sup>2510</sup> sweet contemplation if I be not driven, I shall live of all men the most content, taking more pleasure in mine aged thoughts than ever I did in my youthful actions.

*Cynth.* Endymion, this honorable respect of <sup>2515</sup> thine shall be christened love in thee, and my reward for it, favor. Persevere, Endymion, in loving me, and I account more strength in a true heart than in a walled city. I have labored to win all, and study to keep such as I <sup>2520</sup> have won ; but those that neither my favor can move to continue constant, nor my offered benefits get to be faithful, the gods shall either reduce to truth, or revenge their treacheries with justice. Endymion, continue as thou hast <sup>2525</sup> begun and thou shalt find that Cynthia shineth not on thee in vain.

*End.* Your Highness hath blessed me, and your words have again restored my youth ; methinks I feel my joints strong and these mouldy <sup>2530</sup> hairs to moult, and all by your virtue, Cynthia, into whose hands the balance that weigheth time and fortune are committed.

*Cynth.* What, young again ! Then it is pity to punish Tellus. <sup>2535</sup>

*Tellus.* Ah, Endymion, now I know thee and ask pardon of thee ; suffer me still to wish thee well,



*End.* Tellus, Cynthia must command what  
2540 she will.

*Flosc.* Endymion, I rejoice to see thee in thy former estate.

*End.* Good Floscula, to thee also am I in my former affections.

2545 *Eum.* Endymion, the comfort of my life, how am I ravished with a joy matchless, saving only the enjoying of my mistress.

*Cynth.* Endymion, you must now tell who Eumenides shrineth for his saint.

2550 *End.* Semele, madam.

*Cynth.* Semele, Eumenides? Is it Semele, the very wasp of all women, whose tongue stingeth as much as an adder's tooth?

*Eum.* It is Semele, Cynthia, the possessing of  
2555 whose love must only prolong my life.

*Cynth.* Nay, sith Endymion is restored, we will have all parties pleased. Semele, are you content after so long trial of his faith, such rare secrecy, such unspotted love, to take Eumenides?  
2560 Why speak you not? Not a word?

*End.* Silence, madam, consents; that is most true.

*Cynth.* It is true, Endymion. Eumenides, take Semele; take her, I say.

2565 *Eum.* Humble thanks, madam; now only do I begin to live.

*Sem.* A hard choice, madam, either to be married if I say nothing, or to lose my tongue if I speak a word. Yet do I rather choose to have

my tongue cut out than my heart distempered : 2570  
I will not have him.

*Cynth.* Speaks the parrot! <sup>1</sup> She shall nod hereafter with signs. Cut off her tongue, nay her head, that having a servant of honorable birth, honest manners, and true love, will not be 2575 persuaded.

*Sem.* He is no faithful lover, madam, for then would he have asked his mistress. <sup>2</sup>

*Ger.* Had he not been faithful, he had never seen into the fountain, and so lost <sup>3</sup> his friend and 2580 mistress.

*Eum.* Thine own thoughts, sweet Semele, witness against thy words, for what hast thou found in my life but love? And as yet what have I found in my love but bitterness? Madam, par- 2585 don Semele, and let my tongue ransom hers.

*Cynth.* Thy tongue, Eumenides! What, shouldst thou live wanting a tongue to blaze the beauty of Semele! Well, Semele, I will not command love, for it cannot be enforced; let 2590 me entreat it.

*Sem.* I am content Your Highness shall command, for now only do I think Eumenides faith-

<sup>1</sup> *Speaks the parrot.* A conventional uncomplimentary taunt applied to a person's remarks. "Speke Parrot" is used by Skelton as the title to his bitter attack on Cardinal Wolsey; probably as a sort of excuse for such a mass of abuse.—*Fairholt.*

<sup>2</sup> *Asked his mistress.* Asked for his mistress. See foot-note, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *And so lost.* And so would have lost,

ful, that is willing to lose his tongue for my sake;  
2595 yet loath, because it should do me better service. Madam, I accept of Eumenides.

*Cynth.* I thank you, Semele.

*Eum.* Ah, happy Eumenides, that hast a friend  
so faithful and a mistress so fair! With what  
2600 sudden mischief will the gods daunt this excess  
of joy? Sweet Semele, I live or die as thou wilt.

*Cynth.* What shall become of Tellus? Tellus,  
you know Endymion is vowed to a service from  
2605 which death cannot remove him. Corsites cast-  
eth still a lovely<sup>1</sup> look towards you. How say  
you, will you have your Corsites, and so receive  
pardon for all that is past?

*Tellus.* Madam, most willingly.

2610 *Cynth.* But I cannot tell whether Corsites be  
agreed.

*Cors.* Ay, madam, more happy to enjoy Tellus  
than the monarchy of the world.

*Eum.* Why, she caused you to be pinched  
2615 with fairies.

*Cors.* Ay, but her fairness hath pinched my  
heart more deeply.

*Cynth.* Well, enjoy thy love. But what have  
you wrought in the castle, Tellus?

2620 *Tellus.* Only the picture of Endymion.

*Cynth.* Then so much of Endymion as his  
picture cometh to, possess and play withal.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Lovely.* Loving.

*Cors.* Ah, my sweet Tellus, my love shall be as thy beauty is, matchless.

*Cynth.* Now it resteth,<sup>1</sup> Dipsas, that if thou<sup>2625</sup> wilt forswear that vile art of enchanting, Geron hath promised again to receive thee ; otherwise, if thou be wedded to that wickedness, I must and will see it punished to the uttermost.

*Dipsas.* Madam, I renounce both substance<sup>2630</sup> and shadow of that most horrible and hateful trade, vowing to the gods continual penance, and to Your Highness obedience.

*Cynth.* How say you, Geron ; will you admit her to your wife ?<sup>2635</sup>

*Ger.* Ay, with more joy than I did the first day, for nothing could happen to make me happy but only her forsaking that lewd<sup>2</sup> and detestable course. Dipsas, I embrace thee.

*Dipsas.* And I thee, Geron, to whom I will<sup>2640</sup> hereafter recite the cause of these my first follies.

*Cynth.* Well, Endymion, nothing resteth now but that we depart : thou hast my favor ; Tellus her friend ; Eumenides in Paradise with his Semele ; Geron content with Dipsas.<sup>2645</sup>

*Sir Top.* Nay, soft ; I cannot handsomely go to bed without Bagoa.

*Cynth.* Well, Sir Tophas, it may be there are more virtues in me than myself knoweth of, for I awaked Endymion, and at my words he waxed<sup>2650</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *It resteth.* It remains.

<sup>2</sup> *Lewd.* Mean, base.

young ; I will try whether I can turn this tree<sup>1</sup> again to thy true love.

*Top.* Turn her to a true love or false, so she be a wench I care not.

*Cynth.* Bagoa, Cynthia putteth an end to thy<sup>2655</sup> hard fortunes, for, being turned to a tree for revealing a truth, I will recover thee again, if in my power be the effect of truth.

[BAGOA becomes herself again.

*Top.* Bagoa, a bots upon thee !

*Cynth.* Come, my lords, let us in. You, Gyptes<sup>2660</sup> and Pythagoras, if you cannot content yourselves in our court, to fall from vain follies of philosophers to such virtues as are here practised, you shall be entertained according to your deserts, for Cynthia is no stepmother to strangers.<sup>2665</sup>

*Pythag.* I had rather in Cynthia's court spend ten years than in Greece one hour.

*Gyptes.* And I choose rather to live by the sight of Cynthia than by the possessing of all Egypt.

*Cynth.* Then follow.

*Eum.* We all attend.

[*Excunt all.*<sup>2670</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *This tree.* How this transformation was arranged for is vague. Apparently there was a tree on the stage in this last scene, for Cynthia says, "turn *this tree* to thy true love." Evidently, however, the tree was not on the stage when Panelion and Zontes were on early in the scene, for Panelion refers to Bagoa as turned into *an* aspen, not into *this* aspen, as he would have done had the tree been in sight. When the tree was put on, and the details of the transformation, it seems now impossible to determine.

THE EPILOGUE.<sup>1</sup>

A MAN walking abroad, the Wind and Sun strove for sovereignty, the one with his blast, the other with his beams. The Wind blew hard;

<sup>1</sup> This Epilogue is made from the third of the fables of Avienus, usually printed as Æsop's. The fable runs :

## THE SUN AND THE WIND.

“ Phebus and Boreas from on high  
 Upon the road a Horseman spy,  
 Wearing a cloak, for fear of rain.  
 Says Boreas, ‘ His precaution’s vain  
 ’Gainst me. I’ll show you for a joke  
 How soon I’ll make him quit his cloak.’  
 ‘ Come on,’ says Phebus, ‘ let us see  
 Who best succeeds, or you or me.’  
 The Wind to blow so fierce began,  
 He almost had unhors’d his man;  
 But still the cloak. for all his roar,  
 Was wrapp’d more closely than before.  
 When Boreas what he could had done,  
 ‘ Now for my trial,’ says the Sun,  
 And with his beams so warm’d the air,  
 The man his mantle could not bear,  
 But open’d first, then threw aside.

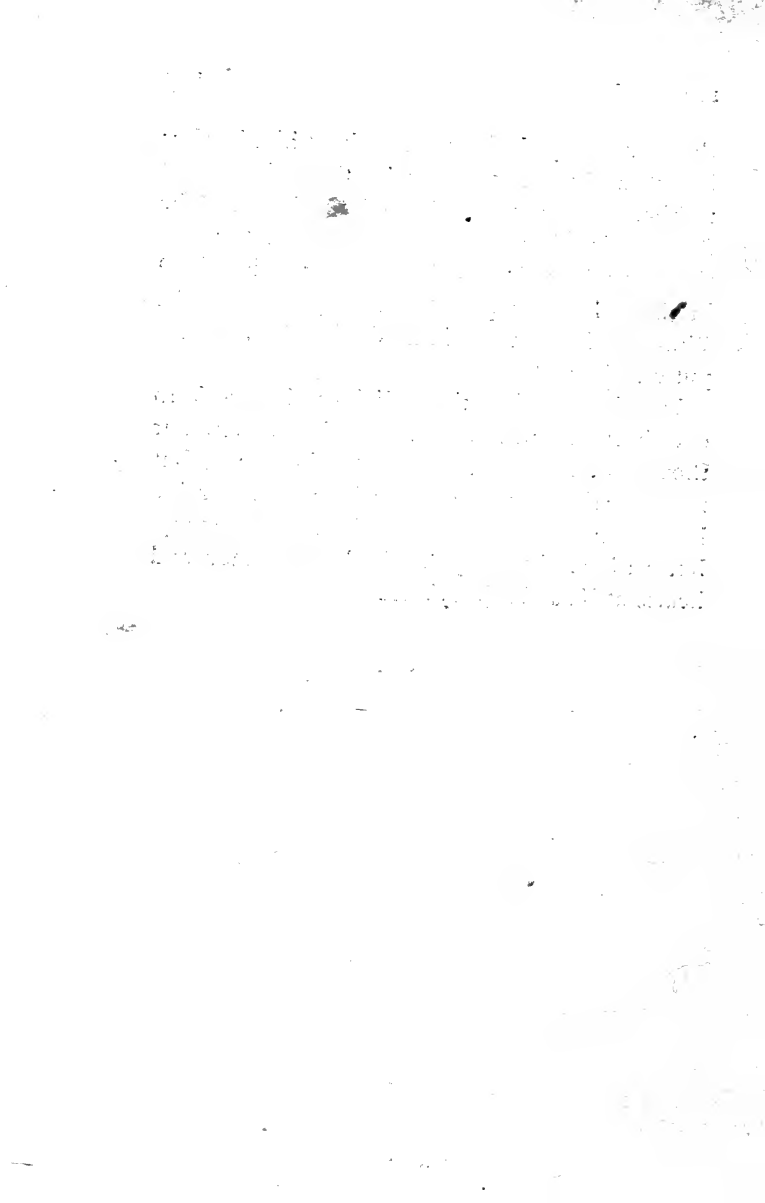
“ Learn hence, unbending sons of pride,  
 Persuasive manners will prevail  
 When menaces and bluster fail.”

Sir B. BOOTHBY, *Fables and Satires.*

Lyly refers to this fable in *Euphues and his England*, p. 472, Arber.

the man wrapped his garment about him harder: <sup>2675</sup>  
it blustered more strongly; he then girt it fast  
to him. I cannot prevail, said the Wind. The  
Sun, casting her crystal beams, began to warm  
the man; he unloosed his gown: yet it shined  
brighter; he then put it off. I yield, said the <sup>2680</sup>  
Wind, for if thou continue shining, he will also  
put off his coat.

Dread Sovereign, the malicious that seek to  
overthrow us with threats, do but stiffen our  
thoughts, and make them sturdier in storms; but <sup>2685</sup>  
if Your Highness vouchsafe with your favorable  
beams to glance upon us, we shall not only stoop,  
but with all humility lay both our hands and  
hearts at Your Majesty's feet.





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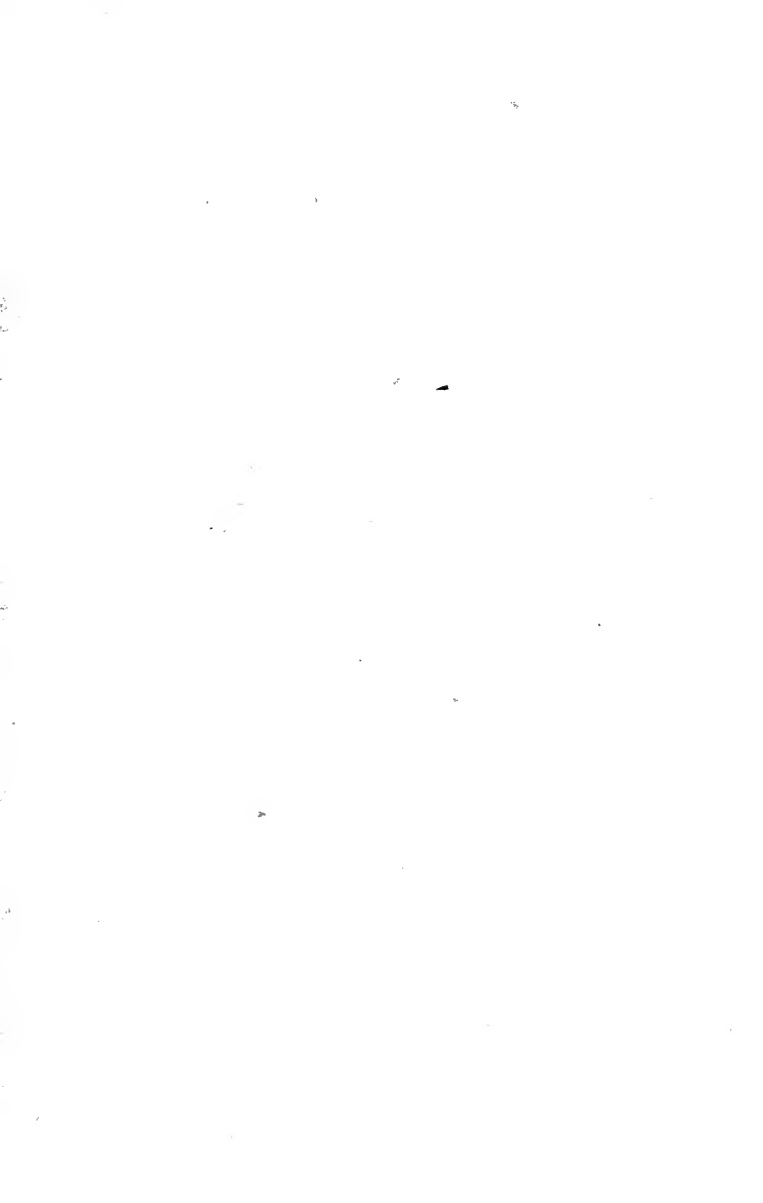
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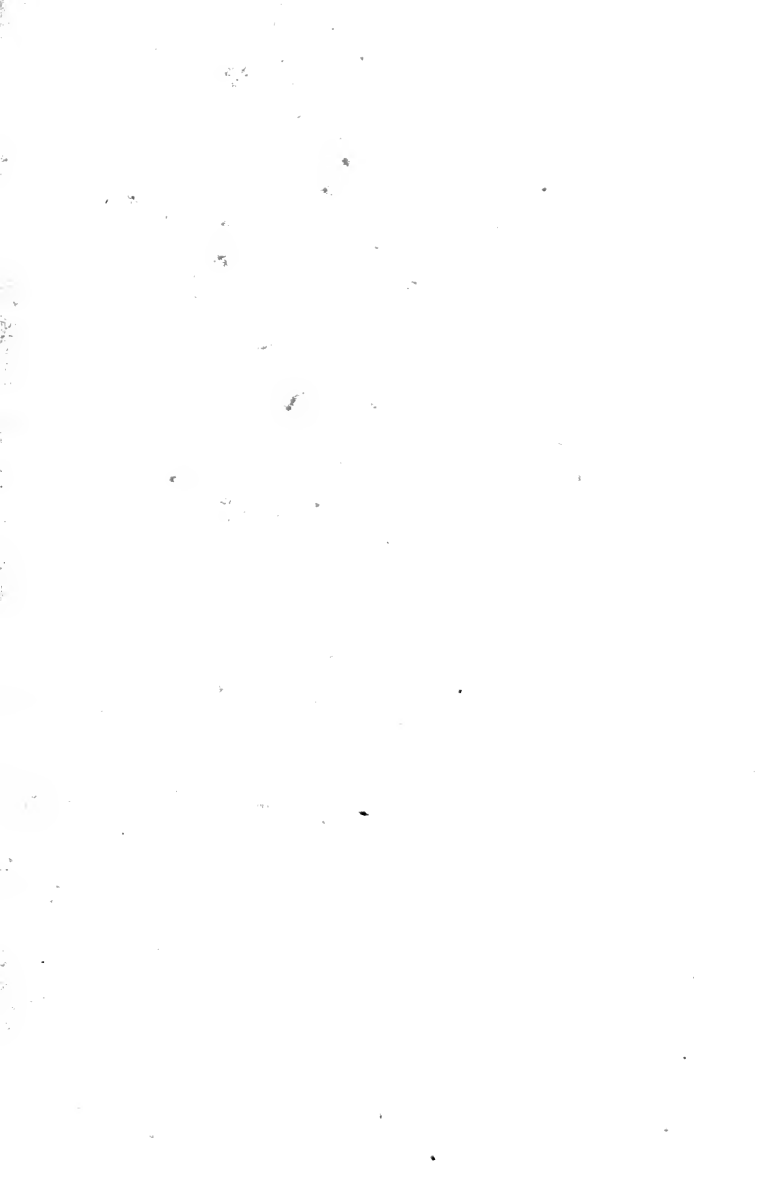
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Endymion : the man in  
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